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Conference of Parliamentary Heads Held in Warsaw

GDR Delegation Arrives

LD2611045588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—A delegation from the GDR People's Chamber, led by Deputy President Gerald Goetting, arrived in Warsaw on Friday. It is taking part in a 3-day international meeting of parliamentarians which starts tomorrow, Saturday. The conference, initiated by the Polish Sejm, brings together for the first time representatives of the parliaments of the states participating in the CSCE. Its motto is "cooperation in the name of the future of Europe." The participants will be discussing how the highest-level popular representatives bodies of their countries can promote developments in the direction of detente, disarmament, and cooperation.

Jaruzelski Receives Delegates

LD2611044988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The first delegations to the international meeting of parliamentarians have already arrived in Warsaw. The meeting will begin tomorrow.

[Unidentified correspondent] Belweder Palace: Wojciech Jaruzelski has received Ioannis Alevras, president of the Greek Chamber of Deputies, with whom he talked, as the communique says, about improving cooperation between the parliaments of both states. The subject of the talk with Leopold Gratz, chairman of the Austrian Parliament, was inter-parliamentary legislative cooperation, i.a. in the sphere of environmental protection. [passage omitted]

Conference Opens

LD2611234488 Warsaw PAP in English 1334 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Nov. 26—The conference of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the U.S. and Canada opened in Warsaw today. Its participants began occupying their seats in the Sejm (parliament) plenary debate hall at about 9 a.m.

The geography of the seats was determined in a draw held earlier. Finland drew the first number and the head of the parliament of that country took a seat in the front row. This was meaningful as Finland was in 1975 the host of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe while the Warsaw meeting is a manifestation of the Helsinki spirit. Next seats were allotted to the parliamentarians in English alphabetical order. The group of Polish deputies, among them Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek, were seated almost exactly in the middle of the hall. Seats adjacent to benches of the Council of State which today were empty, were allotted to representatives of the Council of Europe while those next to the government benches—to representatives of the European Parliament. Also present were members of the Polish group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, the initiator and host of the meeting, delivered words of greeting to the participants. In his speech opening the conference, Malinowski noted that the very fact that the meeting was taking place proved how much has changed in Europe in recent years.

After delivering his speech, the Sejm speaker presided over the conference. Informing the guests that in Poland there was a custom of opening Sejm meetings with three knocks of the speaker's staff of office, Malinowski opened the debates this way.

He next announced that the participants in the debates received messages from U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and acquainted the gathered parliamentarians with the contents of these documents.

The Sejm speaker also announced that Wojciech Jaruzelski would personally deliver his message on the second day of the debates.

Next the participants of the conference took the floor. [passage omitted]

Malinowski Gives Address

LD2611164888 Warsaw PAP in English 0955 GMT 26 Nov 88

["Roman Malinowski's Address (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Let me take the liberty to express satisfaction at the fact that the idea which originated in this building has thus materialized in the form of this conference of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada. This feeling is not simply the satisfaction of people who were able to realize important—in their opinion—ideas and proposals but stems from a profound conviction that the very fact that this unprecedented meeting is taking place is proof how much has changed in Europe in recent years.

The fact that our meeting takes place a year after it was proposed goes to show the common perception of the rhythm of time, common hope and will to act, in the name of a common future. I trust that today's conference will become the beginning of a new practice in the field of cooperation between parliaments of the East and West and will also contribute to the creation of new structures and mechanisms of consolidating dialogue, mutual understanding and confidence, to an increase in the feeling of security and multi-plane cooperation and collaboration.

I think that it is no coincidence that this conference is taking place right now and precisely in Warsaw. Contemporary reality, both in the global and regional scope, is tremendously complex, and contains both seeds of hope and concern. The average man perceives in this reality both signals supporting his optimism as well as ever new alarm signals weakening his faith in the future. For the first time in history the civilization created by man threatens his very self, poses a threat of annihilation not only in the wake of nuclear perils but also, and perhaps first and foremost, owing to ecological threats.

After the Gorbachev-Reagan meetings in Washington and Moscow and the arrangements made there, the world enters a new quality of detente, disarmament, and cooperation. The current of confrontation is narrowing, ideologization of foreign politics is being departed from. And the superiority of the all-human factor is growing. The consolidation and expansion of these favourable qualitative changes call for a revaluation of to-date political, military and other doctrines.

The integrative process is intensifying in the West of Europe and the year 1992 is to be its turning point. Similar integrative trends appear also among East European countries. A question arises—and we should find an answer to this question at this conference—whether such a definite and distinct division of Europe into two opposing and not complementary, competitive and not cooperating integrative systems is favourable or not for the future of the world, for the vision of Europe as a common home of all nations. Is it possible to imagine such a road and method of integration of the states of the East and the West that instead of removing it would bring closer the vision of Europe as a homeland of all nations irrespective of cultural and systemic differences. What could the parliaments of all our countries do in this respect? What conditions must be met to make it acceptable for the parliaments of our countries to assume such a role and gradually successfully complete it?

From our common experience we know that the security of some states cannot be built at the cost of others. This is the very essence of the principle of common security in Europe which invariably guides the Polish foreign policy. It was also at the foundations of our plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe. This initiative, known as the Jaruzelski Plan, is aimed at consolidating stability and reducing the threat of a sudden attack in Europe through a fundamental reduction of armed forces and armaments, transformation of military doctrines into strictly defensive ones and a permanent growth of mutual confidence. It paves the way for a conviction of the need to abide by the principles of the CSCE Final Act in mutual relations and by the basic norms and principles of the universal international law as foundations for the future European home.

At the same time, however, there are phenomena which stir our deep concern. The doctrines of policy from the position of strength are still being maintained. A dangerous trend, from the point of view of all-European interests. To aggravate the existing divisions through creating new patterns of military cooperation, developing closed patterns of scientific, economic, technological and credit cooperation, is still being maintained. The awareness of indivisibility of threats and fortunes for a future Europe is being questioned. The threat of ecological catastrophe is growing. It has become an urgent problem to secure the safety of nuclear installations and plants. Terrorism and threats of new diseases have also become urgent problems. And many significant trends cannot be removed without harmonious cooperation of all European states. These problems go beyond the borders of blocs and individual states.

A new look and at the same time a new approach is necessary towards the problems of our times and the methods and forms of cooperation in their resolution. Let us wish that our conference could contribute to the creation of a new perspective and give invigorating impetus to action. It is needed by us Europeans, East and West alike.

Today peaceful co-existence in the traditional meaning of the term is not enough. What is needed in the face of the growing inter-dependence and globalization of problems is active co-action and cooperation in new forms and vigorous activities in their favour on the part of all subjects of the international community. Parliaments can and should accomplish much in this respect.

Taking this into account, the leitmotiv of our meeting should be—as I think—a bold look at the future of Europe, but at the same time one full of the sense of responsibility, the tackling of its key problems, the solution of which is possible only through cooperation, regardless of the divisions separating us now. This cooperation should lead to the strengthening of common values and principles with a simultaneous respect for separateness and differences which make up the specific character but at the same time the achievements of Europe.

The model of states being guided above all by national egoism is becoming a thing of the past. The youth of our countries does not manifest such stands any more and is open to the most broadly understood cooperation of everyone with everyone for the common god. I propose that young parliamentarians from our states hold a meeting in Warsaw in 1989 on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two. The implementation of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals forwarded from the Sejm rostrum last July to set up in Warsaw a centre for building cooperation and confidence in Europe can be conducive to all-European cooperation. We welcome with hope the establishment of cooperation between the EEC and the CMEA. In the parliaments of socialist countries we are discussing plans to set up a council of parliamentary cooperation with a view to creating conditions for active cooperation with te European Parliament and the European Council.

In creating a better future we legislators face tremendous work. One must first and foremost start with an exchange of legislative information.

Our parliaments and the cooperation between them should create conditions for legal regulations unifying Europe in fields important for people, which would contribute to all-European cooperation and the weakening and subsequently overcoming of the existing divisions of Europe.

The CSCE process has strengthened the social awareness of European community. One must at present put it to concrete, tangible, material shape and substance.

An improvement of the state of economic, technological and scientific-technical cooperation on our continent should be one of the foundations of constructing a common European home. The bills currently being reviewed by the Sejm on economic activities including foreign investment in Poland, will be conducive to this.

A consistent use in the practice of states of the principle of free exchange of experience, licenses and technologies to protect the natural environment—proposed by Poland in the U.N. in 1985—would be an important step in this respect.

It would be also purposeful to review the Polish initiative of setting up a European fund for natural environment protection and a European council for natural environment protection as a forum of not only discussion but also joint action in their field which is growing in importance in Poland and Europe.

We also deem it necessary to endow undertakings conducive to the development of culture in Europe with appropriate rank.

Creating conditions conducive to the development of broadly understood contacts between societies and individuals on ground of mutual understanding and respect for human rights is an inseparable part of European processes.

The Polish parliament, second next to the British Parliament as regards the time of its existence, restores this special position which the Sejm had in our political life. I think—without false modesty—that we have accomplished much in this direction in recent years, but there is still much ahead of us.

Poland is today at an important historic moment—we are in the midst of the process of a general restructuring of our system, its economic structures and socio-political mechanisms. On the basis of the hitherto, universal experiences of socialism, good and those bad from our which we wish to free ourselves, as well as on the basis of the Polish history of democracy and our own traditions stemming from national identity, as well as national aspirations, we strive to achieve national consensus on the key matters of the state and the social organization of our life on principles of true pluralism, taking full account of the thousand-year ties of our nation with Christianity which in Socialist Poland are so alive as rarely elsewhere.

The draft law on associations currently being discussed will also contribute to this. This will expand participation in the exercising of power, also in the Sejm, of representatives of all forces, also those which proceed from other political and world outlook inspirations, providing that the legal order of our state determined by the Constitution is observed. We wish to create and do create conditions for Polish diversity to increasingly become a creative force of our development and the shaping of Poland's future.

Apart from the processes of globalization and growing inter-dependence, also the socialization and democratization of the foreign policy of the state are characteristic features of the contemporary international reality.

This considerably increases the responsibility, role and tasks of parliaments in European politics. This is because they constitute a sovereign representation of the interests and will of nations. In order for our parliaments to be able to meet this responsibility, they should tackle burning, international challenges of modern times and actively shape—aside from and irrespective the hitherto bloc integration—also the common European option.

Polish society is deeply aware—independently of our internal political divisions—that everything which divides Europe, strikes at Europe, at Poland and the Polish nation. The affirmation of the strivings to build a European home with the active participation of European states, including the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada—all the CSCE signatories, derives from the very foundations of the Polish reason of state.

I am deeply convinced that our meeting will serve the implementation of joint European goals, the construction of a common European home, create a positive psychology with a view to this and co-create progress in the material substance.

Jaruzelski Holds Further Talks

*LD2811095088 Warsaw PAP in English
1732 GMT 27 Nov 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—Poland's president of the Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski, held talks with participants of the conference of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the U.S., and Canada in the Sejm building during the break in the debates today. For a longer while he talked to Tom Lantos who is a member of the Congress of the United States. The conversation focused, among other things, on the Polish parliamentary traditions and the 1791 Constitution.

Other participants in the conference who were introduced to the president of the Council of State by the Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski made references to the content of Jaruzelski's address. They pointed to the need of holding such meetings as the current conference and of expanding mutual contacts and cooperation in Europe. Such comments were made, for example, by the chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Augusts Voss, and the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Yuriy Khristoradnov.

While talking to Nilde Jotti, the president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Republic, Jaruzelski pointed to almost model-like relations between Poland and Italy.

During his conversation with the president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey, Yildirim Akbulut, Jaruzelski stated among other things that the Warsaw conference is certainly an important political event. It enables to understand each other better and this will result in an improved cooperation.

The president of Poland's Council of state talked to Siegbert Alber, the vice-president of the European Parliament about the idea of common European home.

Jaruzelski then talked to Gerald Goettinger from the People's Chamber of the GDR, Stanko Todorov—the chairman of the National Assembly of Bulgaria, Istvan Stadinger—the president of the National Assembly of Hungary, Svend Jakobsen—the president of the Folketing of the Kingdom of Denmark, and Franco Masoni, the president of the Council of States of the Swiss Confederation. In the conversation with Gudrun Helgadottir, the speaker of the United Althing, the two recalled the summit in Reykjavik, and in this context they referred to the initiative of convening in that city a meeting of heads of states which could add to the cause of peace and disarmament in global terms. Similar matters were the subject of talks with Matti Ahde, the speaker of the Finnish Parliament, and Ioannis Alevras, the president of Greek Parliament.

Jose Federico de Carvajal Perez, the president of the Spanish Senate, included many well-wishing accents towards Poland while speaking to Jaruzelski. I am pleased to meet you again, Carvajal said, and to find out after a few years that Poland has altered, that the circumstances of our meeting have changed for the better. I have a high appreciation of your visit of a few years ago, answered Jaruzelski. It was a very important visit to Poland in a difficult period. All those who tried to understand our problems then will remain in our heart.

2d Day Summarized

LD2811085888 Warsaw PAP in English 0217 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—The conference of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada debated at the seat of the Polish Sejm on Nov. 26 and 27.

On the second day debates were opened by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski. He welcomed President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. Greeted with applause, the latter delivered an address.

Next the floor was taken by Ioannis Alevras, president of the Greek Chamber of Deputies, who came out for the need to periodically, every two years, organize meetings of presidents of parliaments, like the Warsaw meeting. He proposed Greece to host the next conference. Alevras also forwarded a proposal to set up working groups of deputies to deal with pan-European cooperation in particular parliaments.

The Polish Sejm's initiative and our sense of responsibility for the fate of Europe have made us gather in the hospitable Warsaw to discuss further deepening of cooperation in the name of keeping peace, said Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

The future of the world and peace does not depend on governments only but also on millions of people and their representatives in Parliaments. Irrespective of complex processes going on in the consciousness of the nations of Europe, one idea is the most important—the conviction as to horrible results of the war and the need to look for ways leading to agreement. We, parliamentarians, should use our entire power and social prestige to consolidate this conviction. We support the proposal to regularly hold conferences of parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada in the future.

President of the Norwegian Storting Jo Benkow stressed that parliaments should use every occasion to start contacts which strengthen ties on the East-West line. Superpowers have the decisive role to play here but I think that small and medium-size countries can play a positive role in this, he said.

Member of the U.S. Congress Tom Lantas termed the Warsaw conference as historic. He expressed recognition for Roman Malinowski for the creation of a vision and the realization of the meeting of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the United States, and Canada. The fact that it could be held in a good climate is the special contribution of two men: Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. During four meetings, they managed to achieve that such conferences as the current one may be held and be fruitful.

Referring to Polish affairs, Tom Lantos stressed that there exist numerous encouraging symptoms of changes in Poland. The U.S. Congress is under the impression of the "round table"—and expresses the hope that it will be held in the near future.

The representative of the U.S. Congress expressed hope that parliamentarians will have many a time an occasion to touch upon issues of interest to them.

President of the Hungarian National Assembly Istvan Stadinger said a conference will be held in Budapest next spring to mark the 100th anniversary of the Interparliamentary Union.

Speaker of the Finnish Parliament Matti Ahde proposed to organize in a short time, for example in 1990, another meeting of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the United States, and Canada to discuss the most urgent questions concerning natural environment protection. Helsinki could be site of such debates.

Thanks to conferences like this we are able to talk with each other above state borders about that which concerns all of us, said vice-president of the European Parliament Siegbert Alber. Despite the fact that there are still differences among us, the dialogue continues, cooperation is developing. We need mutual confidence. It will not come into being as long as political systems are attempting to make the entire world happy. Without doubt, our Warsaw meeting is building such confidence.

Vice-chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania Marian Ivascu recognized as the most vital quality of the Warsaw meeting the fact that it may to a considerable degree enrich bilateral dialogue.

Britain's Lord Abderdare, lord chairman of the committees of the House of Lords, conveyed a message from lord high chancellor, leader of the house. He expressed sorrow over the fact that he could not participate in the Warsaw conference due to many other duties. Despite of this, he assured that he will attentively acquaint himself with all documents from the meeting. The representative of the House of Lords expressed interest in plans to create a senate as the second chamber of the Polish parliament.

Next, the floor was taken by Roman Malinowski, who sincerely thanked for the warm words that were uttered about Poland and the Polish people during the meeting. Malinowski also proposed that representatives of seven European parliaments, who met before the Warsaw conference, meet once again to analyse respective proposals submitted during the Warsaw conference and concerning the cooperation of parliaments.

"I propose for the seven, namely presidents of seven parliaments: of Austria, Finland, France, the FRG, Italy, the GDR and Poland, with the participation of the Council of Europe, to prepare appropriate proposals and suggestions concerning these issues," Malinowski said.

Chairman of the conference sincerely thanked all for accepting the invitation and for their arrival to Warsaw, for taking the floor, for favouring the good climate of the exchange of views, for the creation of the grand output of this conference. Let this output bear fruit in the interest of our national homes and in the interest of our common European home, stressed Malinowski.

After Malinowski's address the floor was taken by vice-president of the European Parliament, speaking on behalf of Western parliamentarians and by Chairman of the National Assembly of Bulgaria Stanko Todorov, speaking on behalf of parliamentarians from socialist states. The two highly assessed the initiative to hold the meeting and the course of the Warsaw conference. They expressed support for the idea of continuing this sort of meeting in the future and agreed to the procedure proposed by the Sejm speaker relating to further work in cooperation of seven parliaments and the Council of Europe.

In conclusion the floor was taken once again by Roman Malinowski, who recognized that consensus was reached as for the procedure of further steps and handing it over to the seven proposed parliaments and the Council of Europe.

Speaker of the Sejm once again thanked the parliamentarians as well as ambassadors for taking part in the conference and closed the debates.

CSSR United Nations Delegate Criticizes U.S.

LD0212160188 Prague CTK in English 1101 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] New York Dec 2 (CTK correspondent)—The restriction of movement for the staff of the Czechoslovak U.N. mission since last May, just as the rejection of a visa to Yasir 'Arafat, is clear violation of the U.S. obligations as the U.N. host country, Czechoslovak U.N. Ambassador Evzen Zapotocky said here Thursday.

Speaking in the U.N. General Assembly's Legal Committee he stressed that both steps run counter to the U.N. Charter as well as to the 1946 convention on U.N. privileges and immunity, the 1961 Vienna agreement on diplomatic relations and the 1975 international convention on the legal status, privileges and immunity of permanent missions of international organizations.

The Czechoslovak representative urged the U.N. secretary general to intervene with U.S. authorities for the immediate lifting of the unjust and unlawful restrictions as well as for the fulfilment of international obligations and respect for the dignity of the organization and its members.

Qian Qichen's Moscow Visit Examined

AU0512203488 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
1 Dec 88 p 7

[Jozef Janto article in the "A Word on Events" column: "After More Than 30 Years"]

[Text] The official visit by Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen to the Soviet Union (it begins today and will last until Saturday) is without exaggeration one of the events of the decade, not only because it attracts the attention of almost the entire world, but also because this is the first journey by a chief Chinese diplomat to the USSR since 1956. In 1959, the 10th anniversary of the founding of the PRC a top level Soviet delegation headed by N. Khrushchev paid a visit to Beijing, and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the two countries conducted talks as well, but those were for all practical purposes the last mutual talks held at such a high level. Almost 30 years elapsed before the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and the PRC met again (last September in the course of the UN General Assembly session) to arrange the upcoming official talks.

It is true that all of these events are a matter of protocol; the content and, above all, the results of their talks are much more important. One of the reasons is that the two countries are the largest socialist states and they share a 7,000 km border. After the founding of the PRC, its relations with the Soviet Union, as well as with the other socialist states, were developing very well. After a series of talks between J.V. Stalin and Mao Zedong in Moscow in 1949, the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance was signed (by the then Ministers of Foreign Affairs A. Vyshinskiy and Zhou Enlai) with the highest representatives of the two countries in attendance. This document received a great response, not only in the USSR and the PRC, but truly throughout the world. On the basis of this document the USSR extended to China immense material assistance in building up its economy. However, in the sixties and sevenites Beijing severed all relations with the socialist states, including the USSR. Whereas it has gradually restored them with the East European socialist countries in the eighties, it has not done so with the Soviet Union to date. Beijing substantiated its position with the three well-known conditions (the first one concerns the common border and the Sino-Mongolian border, the second one Afghanistan, and the third one Cambodia). The toughest nut was and still is the so-called Cambodian issue, because China is demanding the Soviet Union to appeal to Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. However, even with regard to this problem, relatively great progress has been made as of late, with further progress expected after the Moscow meeting.

However, Soviet-Chinese relations will be the most important subject on the agenda of the talks between Qian Qichen and Eduard Shevardnadze and other Soviet representatives. A few days ago, Soviet PRAVDA wrote that the endeavor aimed at normalizing relations is mutual, because it proceeds above all from internal developments of the two socialist countries. "Despite the distance between their specific conditions, the renewal of socialism in the USSR and the PRC has much in common. Both states have begun solving identical tasks.... The normalization of relations will above all facilitate a more active exchange of experience from socialist construction," the Soviet daily noted.

However, one does not expect the upcoming Moscow talks to resolve all issues and all problems in mutual relations. Nevertheless, these talks will be an important stage in preparations for a summit meeting, about which there has been talk for several months now. The Soviet side favors the fastest possible preparations for the meeting, and the Chinese weekly BEIJING REVIEW also stressed recently that the summit will take place in the first half of next year; March or April are being mentioned as more concrete dates. Should progress be made in the meantime in the talks on the Cambodian issue, essentially nothing on the Chinese side should stand in the way of developing Soviet-Chinese relations.

We mentioned that almost the whole world is paying attention to the Soviet-Chinese talks. To put it mildly, some circles in the West are viewing them with dislike because they are afraid of rapprochement between Moscow and Beijing. For example they claim that the USSR needs the summit more, whereas the PRC is interested in Western capital and technology. However, the view that the improvement in relations with one can only be achieved to the detriment of another is antiquated. What is involved here, as the Soviet side stresses, is the interests of both as well as of all, especially in strengthening security and peace in the Far East as well as in the whole of Asia. A complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations would without a doubt contribute to that. This matter is also being stressed by the Chinese side, as is the known thesis that China strives to develop mutual relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Estonian 'Extremist' Aims Viewed

AU2311130688 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by V. Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent correspondent in Moscow: "What Are the Extremists in the Soviet Baltic Region After? Under the Mantle of Economic Accountability"]

[Text] What are some of the representatives of the popular fronts in the USSR's Baltic republics actually after? As a rule, in their program documents they identify themselves with the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPCZ Conference and proclaim loyalty to the policy of restructuring. However, there is sometimes almost a chasm-like gap between their political slogans and political practice.

The latest signs of life from them is the way they have obviously manipulated public opinion by means of the information and propaganda media, in which, as yesterday's Soviet PRAVDA writes, their enthusiastic followers predominate. One could also come to this conclusion as the result of the fact that no letter from or voice of anyone who disagrees with quite a number of the "Popular Front's" obviously extremist ideas and plans ever has a chance of being published in the local press or being heard on the air. In this case, can we still talk about pluralism of views?

At the same time, for example, the Popular Front of Estonia has not been the only mass, so-called informal association in the republic for a long time now. In the meantime the Intermovement [Interhnutie] and the United Council of Production Collectives have come into being, which—in contrast to the Popular Front—overwhelmingly affiliate members of other nations of Estonia (who by the way constitute more than 40 percent of the republic's population). All three organizations are allegedly in favor of restructuring and democratization. However, let us have a look at the different ways in which they show their support:

The Popular Front organizes a signature campaign in the streets for a petition against USSR draft laws on political reform and exerts moral-psychological pressure on members of the Estonian parliament until it has forced them to adopt amendments to the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, which are in clear contradiction to the basic law of the Soviet Union. And that is not all. In an atmosphere of whipped up nationalist passions it conducts a "sociological survey of public opinion" on the question of the republic's possible secession from the USSR....

Meanwhile, the United Council of Production Collectives, deprived of the opportunity to express its opinion from legal lecterns, convenes a republic-wide rally attended by almost 100,000 working people from 200 enterprises. These, in contrast, express their assent to the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, and protest against the draft law of the Estonian SSR on language as being illegal and antidemocratic (it makes Estonian the only national language in the republic).

In this connection an impartial observer cannot fail to notice the following interesting phenomenon: whereas plenipotentiaries of the Popular Front reject the idea of alleged haste in assessing and adopting changes to the USSR Constitution, they themselves are artificially accelerating the approval of amendments to the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, and are even forcing upon the Supreme Soviet of the republic the draft law on language without any preliminary public discussion. Why such a rush all of a sudden?

A few days ago I asked Professor Vladimir Guliyev of the State and Law Institute attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences what he thinks about the reservations of the leaders of the Popular Front of Estonia about paragraph 108 of the draft law on changes to the USSR Constitution. Allegedly, it endangers the sovereignty of the union republics since decisions on issues concerning the composition of the Soviet Union will fall exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies....

"But it is precisely the congress that will represent the population of the whole country, and it will consist of deputies elected in alternative elections. Moreover, the new law will maintain Paragraph 73 of the USSR Constitution on the rights of nations to self-determination," Professor Guliyev said.

What, then, is this actually all about?

It is not really that difficult to ascertain the true motives behind the reservations. It is enough to listen carefully to the further specific demands of the popular fronts' extreme wings: introducing special currency in the republics of the Soviet Baltic region, and even forming special military units, in which only citizens with the full rights of these republics would serve: the indigenous population; halting the influx of "immigrants" by introducing their own personal documents; self-administration and self-financing of the republics (thus depriving the USSR state budget of its main source of income)....

For outside consumption this is substantiated by fine-sounding arguments about expanding the economic independence and increasing the responsibility of the country's individual regions, about the need to transfer the republics onto the basis of economic accountability, and so forth. But would not an economic separation of that kind essentially lead to a serious disruption of the normal functioning of the USSR national economic complex? What does this concept have in common with the deepening of the economic reform which after all pursues the goal of making better use, among other things, of regional factors to accelerate the development of the republics and the Soviet federation as a whole? To what extent, if at all, will society-wide interests be accepted as priority, when it comes to asserting the aforementioned "republic's economic accountability"?

Journalist Vladimir Sokolov expressed his views about these doubts very frankly: "The economic barriers, and partly also political barriers," he wrote in the latest issue of the weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, "without which it is impossible to imagine this kind of economic accountability, does not correspond to my ideas of democracy as a society with equal rights and opportunities for all its members. Moreover, these barriers will create objective prerequisites for the next logical step—absolute political independence...."

Extremist groups in the popular fronts and other similar associations no longer conceal such far-reaching plans. How do the territorial party organizations counter them? Are they not losing control of the rapidly developing events? Are they not trailing behind these events?

Yesterday's edition of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA assesses the hasty decision of the Estonian parliament as an error on the part of the republic's leadership.

Meanwhile, the plenipotentiaries of the Popular Front of Estonia are constantly invoking the conclusions of the 19th CSCE Conference. But they only quote what is useful to them at any particular moment. In the resolution of the Conference on Relations Among Nations and Nationalities, anyone can read:

"Life has convincingly shown that where Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism are weakened in practice, narrow national interest and chauvinistic arrogance begin to assert themselves. One has to learn to distinguish between genuine national interests and their nationalist deformations. Any ambitions of national exclusivity are unacceptable and insulting—also to the people in the name of which they are expressed."

Jiri Hajek Perhaps Permitted To Visit Austria

AU0312151488 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
3 Dec 88 p 1

[Burkhard Bischof report: "Will Charter 77 Activist Hajek Be Permitted To Leave the Country?"]

[Text] Vienna—Jiri Hajek, formerly CSSR foreign minister and now active in the CSSR civil rights movement, will in all probability be permitted to visit a Western country next week for the first time in 20 years. Hajek has been invited to attend a discussion about human rights in the East and West at Graz University on 7 December. On Friday [2 December] the former foreign minister and Charter 77 activist applied for an exit permit at the corresponding passport office in Prague; reportedly, this application will probably be answered positively on Monday [5 November].

Particularly SPOe Floor Leader Heinz Fischer strongly advocated Hajek's trip during a talk with Vasil Bilak, the orthodox CSSR top-level functionary, who visited Vienna 2 weeks ago. Bilak's reception by Austrian top-level politicians was harshly criticized in some quarters at the time.

Said Floor Leader Fischer: "Now we see that one can achieve something in human rights issues if one is open and ready for talks with all sides." Positive results can also be seen in regard to other cases that were broached by him and Chancellor Vranitzky in their talks with Bilak, Fischer noted.

Sterba Holds Trade Talks in Paris

AU2511150888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Nov 88 p 7

[CTK report: "CSSR-France: On Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] Paris— The talks conducted by Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, with his French partners during his 2-day working visit to Paris were marked by the bilateral endeavor to improve the economic situation between the CSSR and France.

During the Czechoslovak delegation's talks with J.-M. Rausch, minister of foreign trade, R. Fauroux, minister of industry, and F. Perigot, chairman of the National Council of French Entrepreneurs (CNPF), the two sides stressed their interest in developing scientific-technical cooperation in joint ventures as well as in bilateral foreign trade. One of the concrete results will be, for example, two journeys by representatives of French entrepreneurial circles and the Ministry of Industry to the CSSR, where they will look for new, advantageous cooperation possibilities.

The French representatives were unanimous in saying that the present trade agreement between the two countries falls short of the possibilities. In connection with the further strengthening of economic relations they displayed their trust in the CSSR as a reliable partner.

J. Sterba was also received by Roland Dumas, French minister of foreign affairs, on Tuesday [22 November].

'New Chapter in Relations' With Albania

AU0112143188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
28 Nov 88 p 6

[Julius Loerincz Tirana dispatch: "Albania With One's Own Eyes; In a Country We Should Get To Know Better"]

[Text] One journalistic experience says that the easiest country to write about is the one which you saw only "from the windows of an express train," so to speak. After a few days, you are tempted to write a book about it. Once you get to know a country more deeply, however, you have problems writing even one travelogue or article about it.

According to this maxim, I should now start browsing through a book on the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. I will overcome immodesty, however, and will share with you some information, observations, and impressions which one can gain during a short stay in this, at even the first glance, beautiful country. More about it could be said by Czechoslovak diplomats, merchants, and businessmen, at whose invitation I was able to visit this country.

Let us start out with some basic data. Albania has a territory of 28,748 square km and a population of roughly 3.2 million. Its annual population growth, 2.7 percent, is the largest in Europe. Approximately one-third of the population is younger than 15; at the same time, average life expectancy has in the postwar decades reached 71 years. Some 50 years ago the average Albanian had a life expectancy of only 38 years.

The majority of the inhabitants of the country's 26 districts are Albanians (who account for more than 95 percent of the population). But next to Greeks, who constitute the largest ethnic minority, there are also Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Bulgarians. Some two-thirds of the country are taken up by mountains, which are interwoven with wide valleys. Although agriculture is being practiced in these valleys, it is mainly concentrated in the lowlands and the hilly country of the western coastal region along the Adriatic Sea.

It seems as though we were teaching the ABC's here, but this is not totally out of place. After all, for the third consecutive decade, our contacts are limited, in essence, to economic and commercial ties. Members of the older generation will certainly recall that this had not always been like this, that Cedok, for example, used to organize tours to the Albanian Adriatic coast.... Recently, after a hiatus of many years, the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries met at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly and had a good talk.

Speaking about the past, however, it is necessary to say a few words about the long stage of disrupted Czechoslovak - Albanian ties. It dates back to the ideological disagreements that arose in the early sixties, especially over the interpretation and consequences of the 20th CPSU Congress.

Even today, Albanian policy rejects the nature of Soviet restructuring; one writes in this connection about the continuation of the "Khrushchev line." Despite these differences, there exist many common interests on which it is possible to build and develop our many-sided relations. Let us also not forget that the Albanian nation has long traditions, a tragic and heroic past marked by struggles for freedom and independence, and that in the years of socialist construction it has changed the country's appearance, which had in the first decades of this century supposedly been the most impoverished, most suppressed, and most humiliated corner of Europe.

It is against this background that we should evaluate the relatively modest standard of living, for example. Life in the center of Tirana, the country's capital with more than 200,000 inhabitants, but also in the port of Durres, pulsates until late into the night. Although there is no busy automobile traffic (there are still but few passenger cars, which are all owned by enterprises and state institutions), people are very sociable. Coffee houses, confectionaries, and restaurants are crowded, especially in the evening, and dance music is played in many places. Even television has not yet weaned Albanians away from this habit. In the countryside you will hardly spot a television antenna on the roof but Tirana and Durres, for example, are full of them and people are able to choose between programs from Yugoslav, Italian, or domestic television, which are being broadcast in color since the early eighties.

Albania does not suffer from a shortage of electricity, for example. It even exports electricity to neighboring countries and during hours of peak consumption it even helps out the distant Austria. Its foreign trade is centered on socialist states (with Czechoslovakia being the second most important partner among them, after Yugoslavia), on about 10 main partners from among industrially advanced capitalist countries, and a few developing countries. In addition, Albania also has about 30 other partner countries, with which it exchanges lesser items. It mainly exports raw materials and agricultural products, but recently it also started to export some engineering products, which it produces in cooperation with our country and on Czechoslovak orders. These exports involve several types of components for our ZTS (Heavy Engineering Works) organization, the quality of which can be said to be good.

Questions of quality, technical standards, labor productivity, and better organization of the economic life are coming increasingly to the fore. Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, is intensively involved in this endeavor. He also spoke about the tasks of criticism: "Criticism of shortcomings does not harm anything and anyone. Quite to the contrary: It strengthens the economy, society, and management, makes them more democratic, gives them a more popular appeal, and protects them against bureaucratic degeneration."

Tomorrow we will recall together with the Albanian people the anniversary of a glorious event. On 29 November 1944 the Albanian national liberation army completed the country's liberation. The Albanian people made great sacrifices during World War II and contributed in a dignified way to the antifascist struggle of the European nations. Albania is an inseparable part of Europe and, although it is the only state of the continent that did not take part in the CSCE, it increasingly demonstrates—including by its participation in the development of the process of regional cooperation in the Balkans—that it is interested in making a contribution to ensuring European peace and security. The Albanian side has responded positively to the Czechoslovak proposal of January 1988 to normalize mutual relations and renew diplomatic representation at the level of ambassadors. Nothing should therefore stand in the way of us starting to write a new chapter in Czechoslovak - Albanian relations.

Reader's Question About Albania Answered

AU0512142888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Dec 88 p 6

[Jan Kovarik article: "Answering Reader's Question; CSSR's Relations With Albania"]

[Text] Reader Ladislav Pavela from Bruntal phoned us on Wednesday [30 November] and asked: Why do you write about Albania in RUDE PRAVO, with which we have not had diplomatic relations for years?

[Kovarik] Czechoslovakia does have diplomatic relations with Albania, although since 1961 the two countries have not exchanged grand ambassadors [velvyslance], but only ambassadors [vyslance], diplomats who are one rank lower. We are striving for relations to reach the same level that existed before 1961. In Albania we represent the Soviet Union, which does not have a diplomatic representation in Tirana.

Our Republic is one of Albania's most important trade partners from among the socialist countries, and in Albania's overall relations with foreign countries we also hold one of the leading places. By expanding commercial and economic relations, we are trying to intensify bilateral cooperation, a matter that would be of benefit to both sides. Our countries are also involved in cultural exchange with each other. Regarding the relations between the CPCZ and the Albanian Workers Party, they have not yet been established.

Fojtik, Jakes Address Socialist Academy Leaders

Fotjik Speech

AU0112195588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
28 Nov 88 p 2

["Speech" by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to the Fourth Congress of the CSSR Socialist Academy, held in Prague on 26-27 November]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, permit me to convey to all of you who are assembled in this hall—the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the CSSR Socialist Academy, the guests both from abroad and Czechoslovakia, and the organizers of the congress—warm greetings from the CPCZ Central Committee and its general secretary, Milos Jakes, and wishes for the complete success of the congress.

One can only express support for the report delivered by Comrade Milan Matous. The report is critical and, at the same time, expresses appreciation for what has to be appreciated. It directs attention to the main tasks that arise from the mission of your organization, as well as toward its present day duties. It not only identifies itself with the conclusions of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, but also fully proceeds from them when defining the program of the Socialist Academy's further activity. This was also reflected in the discussion. We can, with justification, presume that the Fourth Congress will make a clear contribution to the activation of the many thousands-strong membership base of the Socialist Academy—which is an important component of the National Front—and to enhancing the role of your organization in society.

We have background material in our hands which has been prepared for the deliberations of the congress. The material is telling evidence of the Socialist Academy's wealth of activity in both republics and in districts before and after the 17th CPCZ Congress. We can clearly read from it the upward trend in the work of lecturers in various spheres. Another pleasing aspect is the growth—albeit moderate—of the Socialist Academy's membership base. However, we have to see to it that this membership base is properly improved, that lecturers include qualified and recognized experts from the ranks of the humanitarian, natural sciences, and technical intelligentsia, personalities who are active in the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences, at higher institutes of learning, in the political sphere, industry, agriculture, medical doctors, teachers, lawyers, members of armed components, and so forth. And concentration on young people must be stressed.

At the behest of the party leadership I would like to sincerely thank all who participate selflessly and with initiative in the Socialist Academy's work. It is meritorious work, it has the full support of the CPCZ, and we hold it in very high esteem. After all, it helps to implement one of the most important and most difficult objectives of society, which has its origin in socialist revolution—to create a new man. This man is not only to be free of the curse of secular exploitation and of the social iniquity which is connected with it, but he is also to be free intellectually, he is to be rationally thinking, aware of his human dignity, his place in society, of his responsibility to society, he is to be—in the full sense of the word—a man with full rights. The scientific weltanschauung is the foundation of such man's system of values. This gives him the opportunity—in harmony with the known laws of social development and revolutionary ideals—to transform himself and the world.

We do not idealize anything—at least not today. We know what a complex task this is. We also know that we are only at the beginning of a long and difficult road. After all the experience we have acquired, new opportunities are beginning to open up on that road. We have begun to realize a historically significant feat—to restructure all spheres of society. We want the roots of socialism to be strong and healthy, so that our society develops on the principles of socialism and so that it is possible to satisfy the growing needs of the people as fully as possible; so that the most progressive social system—socialism—is not deformed by anything that is at variance with Marxist - Leninist science or with the revolutionary-humanistic essence of that system.

We addressed these issues in detail at the recent 10th CPCZ Central Committee session. The following instruction was issued: develop ideological work under the new conditions, in the stage of restructuring, and bring it up to the level of present day requirements. With this work we must make the maximum contribution to successfully carrying out fundamental changes in our society, to comprehensively restructuring the economic mechanism and democratization, to seeking and finding new ways of social development, to the fullest possible use of the potential of socialism, of the intellectual and material potential of society, so that all our citizens comprehend the purpose of the contemporary revolutionary process and adopt its objectives as their own, and take an active part in the common effort to achieve them. As the resolution of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session says about this: "The foremost task of ideological work in the present period is to help to create an atmosphere that stimulates people's initiative and creativity; give them to a high sense of social engagement and responsibility for results, and make them behave as true managers and citizens dedicated to socialism, who have the fate and the well-being of our country at heart."

The term "activation of the human factor" has already become widely used. Some people claim that it pays tribute to mechanistic thinking. When we disregard this—perhaps justified—reproach, we can say that what is involved is the essence of the matter—the fundamental condition and the objective of restructuring. Of course, with ideological work itself, even the most intensive ideological work, we cannot activate the human factor. We are Marxists, proponents and espousers of historical materialism, we know that the consciousness of society is determined by its existence, by the real conditions of people's life. However, the important thing is to bring about the change of these conditions by means of the aware, creative activity of the people, by means of responsible and prudent policy. One of the greatest advantages of socialism is that it makes this possible on a broad basis provided that the revolutionary vanguard of society—the Communist Party—unites society on the basis of a scientifically substantiated program, that in all stages of development it remains faithful to the working people, to the cause of the workers class, to socialism. Subjectivism, voluntarism, authoritarian thinking and decisionmaking typical of the system of the so-called cult of personality is the most dangerous obstacle to development, the greatest threat to socialism.

When we said at the latest CPCZ Central Committee session that it is necessary also to carry out restructuring in the ideological sphere itself, what we had in mind, in the first place, was overcoming everything that still prevents basing this work on a firm and reliable foundation of science, the essence of which is creative activity which stimulates constant development, the process of uninterrupted renewal of society. I again invoke the resolution of that plenum: "It is necessary to overcome rigidity, dogmatism, and conservatism in ideological work, and to contribute with this work to a dynamic development of society, rouse people to irreconcilability toward everything that stands in the way of a comprehensive assertion of the working people's creative forces and retards social progress. This work must react to vitally important, urgent questions of the people, prepare them for social changes, discern in time and signal conflicts which are coming into being in society, and contribute to harmonizing the interests of individuals, collectives, and the whole of society.

This, of course, presupposes the broadest possible application of the Leninist principle of openness and the flow of information to the public, facing life, adherence to the postulates of truthfulness, concreteness, and pragmatism. Only in this way will our work in this exceptionally important sphere be creative and principled.

Do we need reorganization for this? There is no doubt that we will have to have a look at how our apparatuses function, how expedient the organizational structures of that activity are. Does this activity have to be modernized, thus creating a material - technical base corresponding to the contemporary needs? There is no doubt that here too we should not lag behind. All the more so, since we must also face sharp attacks and disinformation campaigns by our class opponents. The information system, which is the core of restructuring in the ideological sphere, cannot be substantially improved without a suitable modernization of the material - technical base. It also cannot do without improved cadres. That, together with the orientation of this activity's content, must be one of our main concerns now.

What, then, determines our attitude to the restructuring of ideological work? In the first place, it is the requirement to combine it in all spheres with the political and organizational activity of the party, to tolerate no form of limited departmentalism [resortismus] and pragmatism anywhere, and to expand and strengthen the theoretical rear [zazemi] of our activity. If we are to react correctly to society's vitally important issues, to discern and resolve the conflicts arising in society in time, we must know social reality well. Arguments must be based on well-founded research, trustworthy statistics, and undistorted data. At the same time, reality and the assessment criteria must be determined by a dialectical perception of reality. Studying and assimilating Marxist - Leninist dialectics is one of the cardinal duties at present. It is the main prerequisite for successfully overcoming dogmatism and revisionism, and subjectivist deformations of all kinds. It is necessary to foster and assert logical, healthily critical thought, to which only one authority applies—the authority of the truth. On this is based the constructiveness of our activity, of our entire effort.

However, we do not restrict the restructuring of ideological work only to the creation of optimal conditions for an objective understanding of reality. Propaganda's role is to act as an intermediary component. If it does not combine theory with practice, it remains a helpless enlightenment campaign. Therefore, it must result in everyday mass - political activity, in agitation in the best sense of the word, and its methods and forms must be adapted to this. This too we discussed at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, and the conclusion was unequivocal: We have a duty to develop broadly-based, persuasive activity which has a long tradition in our country, to conduct frank discussions with people on all issues which life presents. This and overcoming the administrative-directive manner of managing society are some of the most topical tasks. On their implementation depends the restoration of the Leninist style of the work of the party, its political leadership of society, the intensification of its leading role in the political system of socialism, and the development of socialist political pluralism and the pluralism of views.

Comrades, we live in a complex period. Unprecedented and, for many people, even surprising changes are occurring. These changes are logically connected with the general "reassessment of values." Phrases and sterile slogans have never inspired anyone. Today they are quite anachronistic, untenable, and harmful. Sober-mindedness and pragmatism are the attributes and imperatives of our time. Ignoring this fact means losing touch with developments. Nothing compromises our efforts as much as unprincipled, time-serving cliches, and superficial opportunist adaptation to the current. One can master the future only by means of highly responsible work, in an honorable struggle for what is new. In this struggle we can be certain only by confronting reality with our ideas. When correcting them, there should be no demagoguery of any kind, they must be determined, above all, by scientific means. Those who are armed with creative, revolutionary teaching can boldly look ahead to tomorrow. However, they must not succumb—and we have had a bitter experience in that respect—to any schematism, must not pass off wishful thinking for reality, skip stages of development, artificially accelerate development and, under various pressure from pseudodemocratism, make promises that cannot be kept. This always has to be paid for dearly.

Today you are discussing tasks of your organization, of the Socialist Academy, which is active in the sphere of the struggle for people's minds, their comprehensive intellectual development. Precisely in this struggle for man's correct orientation, an orientation which gives him the necessary strength and courage, you have a particular place and responsibility today.

In the congress report, Comrade Milan Matous explained the broader concept of the Socialist Academy's activity, which transcends the framework of education in weltanschauung "as such." It is necessary to support this concept. The Socialist Academy faces a whole range of new activities. It faces great tasks, especially in the training of cadres for work under conditions involving managing the principles of full economic accountablity and the activity of self-management bodies in enterprises. Or let us recall the need for qualified clarification of issues connected with the new political thinking, the dialectics of universal and class interests. The tasks of counterpropaganda also have to be approached anew. They set before us demands which are much higher than in the past. In this connection, we must not forget that its most effective form is positive propaganda which leads to the formation of firm patriotic and international stances.

Esteemed comrades, I would like to wish much success to the deliberations of your congress, I hope you succeed in implementing the tasks which you will assume at these deliberations. I would like to express the hope that the Socialist Academy will continue to act, and even more effectively, as a reliable helper of the CPCZ, as one of the prominent bodies of our ideological front.

Jakes Address

AU0512150188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Words of Appreciation for the Work of the Socialist Academy"]

[Text] Prague—On Tuesday [29 November] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, received in the presence of Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, leading representatives of the CSSR Socialist Academy elected at its fourth congress.

At the outset of the meeting Milan Matous, chairman of the CSSR Socialist Academy Central Committee, expressed thanks for the support which the CPCZ extends to the activity of the Socialist Academy. He provided information on the course and results of the Fourth Congress of the CSSR Socialist Academy and on the resolve of its members to continue to actively contribute to the materialization of the party's policy aimed at a consistent implementation of economic and social restructuring.

Milos Jakes congratulated members of the leading bodies of the Socialist Academy on their being elected to their responsible posts. He spoke with appreciation of the meritorious activity of the more than 40,000 lecturers of this important organization in fostering the ideological and world outlook education of citizens and making the public familiar with the advances of social, natural, and technical sciences. He endorsed the endeavor of members of the CSSR Socialist Academy to seek new forms and methods of work in the interest of raising the standards and the attractiveness of propagandistic and educational activity. He stressed the need to conduct a dialogue with students and readers, not to dodge burning issues and seek qualified answers to them, and to comprehensibly explain the purpose and aims of restructuring and democratization, showing their immediate relevance to improvements in people's living standards.

Of great importance in this respect, Comrade Jakes pointed out, are an improvement in economic and scientific-technical propaganda and education toward economic thinking, in which there is generally much room for improvement. Closer attention must also be paid to the problems of socialist democracy, to improving legal propaganda, and to reinforcing in people's awareness socialist patriotism and the feeling of sharing responsibility for the preservation of peace and a progressive development in the world. In the interest of further upgrading the level of its activity, it will be necessary to win on a larger scale top scientists and experts from all walks of social life for work in the Socialist Academy and to involve young people more broadly in its activity, be it as lecturers or organizers.

Comrade Milos Jakes highly assessed the support which the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Academy expressed for party policy. He voiced his confidence that by its continued responsible implementation of congress conclusions, the Socialist Academy would even more consistently discharge its responsible social mission. He wished members and functionaries of the CSSR Socialist Academy much success in this respect.

The reception was attended by Jaroslav Jenik, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

CPCZ Presidium Session Reviewed

LD0312034288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] At today's session the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the preparation of the 12th session of the party Central Committee. In this context, the Presidium examined a draft report on the fulfillment of this year's social and economic development plan, the plan for next year, and the progress in restructuring the economic mechanism.

The Presidium also examined drafts of some basic documents that CPCZ Central Committee members and candidate members will receive before the session. In these documents is information concerning social and economic development trends after the 17th party congress, a report on the development of the national economy and fulfillment of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic state plan in the 1st and 3d quarters this year, tasks of the 1989 national economy plan and its preparation for 1990, as well as a report on the progress in restructuring the economic mechanism and creating material and systemic preconditions for its introduction.

The Presidium acknowledged a report by the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission on the results of a check of how the party organizations are striving for the consistent fulfillment of the tasks of the economic plan and urging leading communists and other workers to speed up scientific and technological development and its use. The Presidium also decided that this report—which includes valuable information on the situation and activities of 283 enterprise committees and 1,418 primary party organizations—will be sent to CPCZ Central Committee members and candidate members before its 12th session.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium approved amendments to the material penal law, the Penal Code, and the law concerning minor offenses.

Information on a bill on amending the law on the organization of the courts, elections of judges, and the law on the Prosecutor's Office was also presented to the Presidium.

The Presidium acknowledged government-sponsored bills of the Czech and Slovak National Councils on the prevention of alcoholism and other addictive habits. The bills will be presented to the National Council for discussion and approval.

The Presidium also acquainted itself with a report on the proceedings and results of the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission and on the national consultative meeting with chairmen of regional and municipal control and audit commissions.

The Presidium acquainted itself with a report on the course and results of the visit by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and party Central Committee secretary, to the GDR. The Presidium praised his reception by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee General secretary and State Council Chairman, as well as his talks with Hermann Axen, Presidium member and SED central committee secretary.

The Presidium approved convening the commission of the party Central Committee for the compilation of the CPCZ program to take place on the 15th December.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed proposals of cadre changes in posts of secretaries of the East Slovakian Regional CPSL Committee and leading secretaries of several District CPSL committees of this region.

New Party Secretary Elected in Prague

AU0512173488 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 1 Dec 88 pp 1, 2

["vp"-signed report: "In the Name of Life"]

[Excerpts] Prague— A plenary session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee on Ecological Issues was held in the CPCZ Municipal District Committee building in the Prague-4 district yesterday. The session was opened by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ City

Committee. It was attended by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy premier of the federal government. [passage omitted]

Speaking in the discussion, Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, characterized the present stage of comprehensive restructuring and emphasized the need for dialectic unity between the economy and ecology, which also has political implications. [passage omitted]

The session released Alois Olsan from the posts of member of the Secretariat and secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, and Vaclav Bartos from the post of head of the CPCZ City Committee Education and Culture Department. Jiri Baryl was elected new member of the Secretariat and secretary by secret ballot and Jiri Taborsky was approved for the post of department head. On this occasion Comrade Stepan highly assessed Comrade Olsan's work. [passage omitted]

Winding up the session, Comrade Stepan formulated in some detail the crucial tasks of ecological policy, stressing that it is necessary to tackle these problems head on, to stop talking about nothing, and to start working. This chiefly applies to those who are responsible for the environment.

[On the same day on page 1, VECERNI PRAHA carries a 150-word biography of Jiri Baryl. It notes that Baryl, a trained mechanic and graduate of the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics, was born in 1953 and last worked as deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee's Economic Department]

Federal Assembly To Meet 13, 14 Dec

AU0212140688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Budget of the Czechoslovak Federation"]

[Excerpt] Prague (CTK)—The Presidiums of the Federal Assembly chambers held sessions in Prague on Tuesday [29 November]. The sessions—which were presided over by the chairmen of the two chambers, Vladimir Vedra and Jan Janik—mainly assessed the political and organizational provisions for the 12th joint meeting of the Federal Assembly chambers and decided to convene it on 13 and 14 December. At the meeting, deputies will discuss the government-sponsored draft law on the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for the year 1989. The most important of the other pieces of draft legislation which will be discussed at the meeting are a government-sponsored draft law that changes and amends the labor code and a draft law on the sphere of competence of the federal central agencies of state administration. [passage omitted]

'No Need for Concern' About Religion

AU2911110688 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 23 Nov 88 p 5

["jt"-signed article: "Constitutional Guarantees Are Valid"]

[Excerpts] In our country, religion is the private affair of believers, as is guaranteed by the Constitution. To practice it, they have churches, chapels, and even pilgrimage sites which, however, must not become an arena for political confrontation. Is this always the case? It is not, and we do not have to go far back to prove this, especially because lately representatives of unofficial church structures, in cooperation with some clerical spokesmen, have exploited pilgrimage sites in order to disturb relations between our state and the Catholic Church. What they are after is attested to by the broadcasts of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and others: They are after the restoration of the influence of political clericalism.

Thus, we can be hardly surprised when in their letters to the editor both Communists and citizens have been expressing a certain concern about religious instruction in our schools. Citing the reason for their protest, they logically refer to the need for education in weltanschauung in the spirit of the rejection and criticism of religion from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, which perceives religion as a historical product of certain social conditions and at the same time as a naive form of idealism. [passage omitted]

It is necessary to note that clergymen from churches and religious societies, as well as other persons authorized by them, can teach religion in schools. Legal churches can organize religious instruction for pupils from the second to the seventh grades in primary schools. The instruction is not part of the school curriculum. The enrollment form must be signed by both parents, because what is involved is the fundamental weltanschauung orientation of minors in regard to their weltanschauung. If we realize that in the whole of Prague only 153 children receive religious instruction, there is no need for concern.

Not only this figure, but also the number of religious believers are clear evidence that societywide interests interpreted from the class point of view are stronger. Nevertheless our party is clearly aware that it is not only conscious proponents of a scientific weltanschauung who are involved in the process of social restructuring, but religious believers as well, who—together with their churches—have and will have a legally guaranteed place on the basis of constitutional guarantees. That of course also means that this fact must not be misused to carry out actions which harm the interests of our state.

Slovak Clergy Feted for Supporting State Policy

AU2511151188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "For Consolidating Relations"]

[Text] Bratislava—On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's establishment, church officials of eight churches operating in the Slovak SR were presented with honorable certificates of recognition issued by the Minister of Culture of the Slovak SR for their efforts to consolidate good relations between the state and the churches and for promoting our state's peace policy. Yesterday's [23 November] a solemn ceremony in the Palffy Palace in Bratislava was attended by church dignitaries of the individual churches. Vincent Macovsky, deputy minister and director of the Church Affairs Secretariat of the Government of the Slovak SR, presented honorable certificates of recognition to 34 church officials of the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Catholic Church, the Slovak Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Denomination in the CSSR, the Reformed Christian Church in Slovakia, the Brethren Church, the Unity of Baptist Brethren, the Church of the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Orthodox Church.

Poland's Premier Rakowski Continues Visit

Activities in Berlin Noted

LD0512202488 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 5 Dec 88

[By PAP correspondents]

[Text] Berlin, Dec. 5—PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Poland's Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski paid a working friendly visit to the GDR today. He was greeted at the Schoenefeld Airport by SED CC Political Bureau member, GDR Premier Willi Stoph.

Rakowski and his entourage started the visit with laying a wreath at a monument to the victims of Nazism and militarism in the Unter den Linden avenue. Next the Polish premier laid a wreath at a monument to Polish soldier and German antifascist, situated on a hill at the Friedrichshain Park, in tribute to Polish soldiers fallen during the Berlin operation in 1945.

Both countries' premiers met at the seat of the GDR Council of Ministers. Next, plenary talks, co-chaired by Rakowski and Stoph, were held.

After the talks Stoph gave a banquet in honour of the Polish visitor during which the two prime ministers delivered speeches.

Rakowski was also received by SED CC general secretary, chairman of this country's Council of State Erich Honecker.

Tonight Rakowski and accompanying persons were bidden farewell at the Schoenefeld Airport by Stoph.

The Polish delegation was composed of Ireneusz Sekula, vice-premier, and Stanislaw Dlugosz, acting chairman of the Government Planning Commission, among other officials.

Received by Honecker

LD0512185688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers and member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo for friendly talks.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski who is in Berlin for a working visit at the invitation of Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, conveyed fraternal greetings from Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State.

The parties stated with satisfaction that the traditional friendly relations between the two neighboring socialist states had reached a high level and continuously were being extended further by the fulfilment of agreements made at the highest level.

In this connection, they paid tribute to the Treaty of the Friendship Foundation of the Youth of the GDR and the PPR as a document of historical dimensions which tapped fresh form and content for friendly relations between the youth of the two countries.

They were in agreement in underlining the great significance of the further committed fulfillment of the "long-term program for the development of cooperation between the GDR and the PPR in the area of science, technology, and production for the period until the year 2,000" in the sense of joint measures to speed up scientific and technical progress and for the more efficient use of their results for the comprehensive intensification of the two countries' national economies.

Erich Honecker and Miecyslaw F. Rakowski stated that the firm bond between the GDR and People's Poland, as friends and allies at the center of Europe, represented a great joint achievement. It had proven itself as an indispensible element of stability, security, and peace in Europe. They spoke in favor of fashioning and strengthening further the fraternal alliance between the two states on the basis of trusting cooperation between the SED and the PZPR.

Erich Honecker briefed the Polish guest on the results of the seventh session of the SED Central Committee, above all on the good record in fulfilling the course of the unity of economic and social progress. He stressed that with a view to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the working people of the GDR, under the leadership of the SED, were attaining great preformances in order to secure the further successful shaping of the developed socialist society and to strengthen the peace-creating force of socialism.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski explained the PZPR's approach to fulfilling the resolutions of the 10th party congress by continuing the course of reforms and national reconciliation. He stressed that the party, in alliance with all progressive social forces, was directing its efforts mainly toward further stabilizing the development of the national economy and improving the population's material situation.

The parties held an exchange of opinions on current issues in international developments. They reasserted the firm will of their states to continue to make an active contribution at the side of the USSR and other fraternal states to averting the danger of war and to give a lasting and irreversible character to the progress developing with the start of nuclear disarmament. There was no alternative to the policy of dialogue, cooperation, and confidence-building.

The two politicians supported tackling specific steps for the global reduction and removal of further categories of weapons in the nuclear, conventional, chemical, and biological areas resolutely and without delay, in accordance with the proposals by the Warsaw Pact member states. They stressed that respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs were significant preconditions for international security.

The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State asked his guest to convey fraternal greetings to Wojciech Jaruzelski, as well as best wishes for the successful shaping of the further building of socialism in Poland.

Taking part in the meeting were Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as the two countries' ambassadors, Janusz Obodowski and Juergen van Zwoll.

Rakowski Seen Off by Stoph

LD0512190988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers ended his friendly working visit to the GDR on Monday afternoon and set off for home.

The Polish politician and his entourage were cordially bidden farewell by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport.

Also present were Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section of the GDR-PPR Economics Committee; Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott; Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; and Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Dietrich Lemke. Also present were the ambassadors of the two countries, Juergen van Zwoll and Janusz Obodowski.

Honecker Congratulates Albania on National Day

AU3011114888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 88 p 5

[ND report: "GDR Congratulates Albania on National Day"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following greetings telegram to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

On the occasion of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania's National Day, I convey to you and the Albanian people my best wishes and greetings.

After the victory over fascism and reaction 44 years ago, the Albanian people have achieved important successes in building a socialist society, successes that are highly appreciated by the working people of the GDR. Relations between our two countries have developed successfully and include ever increasing areas of cooperation. You may be assured that the GDR will continue to support extending and deepening these relations for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace.

I wish you and the Albanian people further progress in building socialism.
Erich Honecker,
Chairman of the GDR State Council

At the same time, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed his wishes to Adil Carcani, chairman of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania's Council of Ministers.

Honecker Congratulates SFRY on Anniversary

AU3011114788 East Berlin NEUES DEUSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 88 p 5

[ND report: "Cordial Congratulations to the SFRY's Working People"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following telegram to Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Presidium, and Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to Belgrade:

Esteemed comrades:

On the occasion of the SFRY's National Day, and on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, as well as on my own behalf, I convey to you, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY Presidency, and the peoples of the SFRY, our most cordial congratulations.

Since the liberation from fascism and reaction, the Yugoslav peoples, under the leadership of the LCY, have overcome the difficult legacy of the past and followed the road of social progress.

With the building of socialism, the Yugoslav peoples initiated the most successful phase to date in the eventful 70-year history since the founding of the state of Yugoslavia. The communists and all working people of the GDR follow with sincere appreciation the great efforts by the SFRY to consolidate the achievements of socialism, and the SFRY's active work in the nonaligned movement toward peace, security, and equal international cooperation.

I am pleased to say that the close relations of friendship between our parties, states, and peoples are fruitfully reflected in our all-around cooperation, which has developed dynamically. I am convinced that these relations, which are based on joint objectives, will continue to continually grow and deepen in the interest of peace and socialism, and for the well-being of our peoples.

I wish the communists and all working people in the SFRY success in implementing the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the First LCY Party Conference for solving the complex tasks that it is currently facing.

Esteemed comrades, please accept also my best wishes for your creative strength, health, and well-being.

Erich Honecker,
General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed cordial wishes to Branko Mikulic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, on the same occasion.

SED Delegation Visits West Berlin

AU2111174188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] West Berlin (ADN)—An SED delegation headed by Rudi Kuehnel, section head of the SED Central Committee, visited West Berlin on Thursday [17 November] and Friday [18 November] at the invitation of the West Berlin SPD. This was in response to the visit by a group of SPD politicians in charge of sports and sports officials from West Berlin, who had familiarized themselves with the SED's sports policy in 1987.

European Parliament Delegates Visit

Received by Fischer

LD2111225888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1740 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN): GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today received a European Parliament delegation responsible for relations with the GDR, CSSR, and the Polish PR, which is in Berlin for talks with the GDR People's Chamber. The delegation, comprising 10 deputies from various parties from several EC states, is led by deputy Hans-Joachim Seeler (SPD).

The partners in the meeting paid tribute to the commencement of official relations between the CEMA and the EEC, the GDR and the EC, and between the GDR People's Chamber and the European Parliament. They are conducive to contributing toward creating forms of East-West relations in keeping with the times. It is therefore necessary to shape both the further improvement of the process of economic integration in the CEMA, and also the development toward the EC internal market in the spirit of overall European cooperation.

Oskar Fischer stressed the GDR's readiness to develop relations with the European communities and their institutions in such a way that they promote dialogue, and security and trust in Europe. He explained the imaginative policy of the GDR and the Warsaw Pact states for peace, arms limitation, and disarmament. Now more than ever it is necessary to make use of the historic chance for the disarmament process that is offering itself, and not to permit any standstill. This requires further visible steps in reducing military potentials, armed forces and armaments.

Initial progress in nuclear disarmament must not be allowed to be put in question through new developments and modernization in other areas.

Oskar Fischer explained the ideas relating to the common European house, the foundations of which have already been laid within the framework of the CSCE process, and are now due to be expanded through numerous bilateral and muiltilateral activities.

The partners in the meeting expressed their interest in concluding the Vienna meeting as quickly as possible with a substantial and balanced document.

Late this afternoon the People's Chamber Presidium gave a cocktail party in honor of the European Parliament delegation. In the evening the guests attended a concert.

Delegation Meets With Stoph

LD2311111588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1942 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, today received the European Parliamentary delegation for relations with the GDR, the CSSR, and Poland, led by (SPD) Deputy Hans-Joachim Seeler, which comprises deputies from various parties from several EEC states.

During the discussion of international issues, Willi Stoph stressed his assessment of the international situation that with the start of nuclear disarmament real opportunities are developing to deepen the detente, arms limitation, and disarmament processes and make them irrevocable. It is now a matter of taking further specific steps to globally reduce and remove without delay other categories of weapons in the nuclear, chemical, conventional, and biological areas. Regional initiatives could effectively stimulate international negotiations. He is convinced that the successful conclusion soon of the Vienna CSCE meeting will positively influence the political climate in Europe, in particular.

The parties welcomed the start of official relations between the CEMA and the EEC and those between the GDR and the EEC. They expressed the conviction that the delegation's stay will contribute to broadening and deepening contacts between the GDR People's Chamber and the European Parliament.

The Council of Ministers chairman briefed the parliamentarians on achievements by the GDR's working people which, on the basis of the unity of economic and social policy, go hand in hand with the further improvement of the population's living conditions. The GDR's national economic plans offer favorable prospects for scientific, technical, and economic cooperation with the EEC. [passage omitted]

In the discussion, which passed in an openminded atmosphere, they dealt with a series of questions of mutual interest. [passage omitted] They spoke in support of intensifying the continuation of the exchange of opinion, in the centre of which stand perspectives and possibilities for further developing these relations.

Willi Stoph underlined the GDR's readiness to constructively contribute to this. It is now a matter of rapidly concluding the exploratory talks between representatives of the GDR and the EC commission and beginning negotiations on a GDR-EEC trade agreement.

They must also, while respecting the developing integration processes in the CEMA and the EC, among them creating an EC internal market as of 1992, make new demands on East-West economic relations. Many problems are not confined within borders and cannot be solved at a national level alone or in the framework of bilateral relations. These are environmental protection, securing energy and raw materials, improving transportation, creating a favorable framework of conditions for broader East-West cooperation, which should tackle technological cooperation issues. [passage omitted]

Delegate on Talks Progress, Outcome

LD2311115388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1820 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—His opinion that the first visit by an all-party delegation of the European Parliament to the GDR is an historic event was fully proved by his talks with leading GDR persons, delegation chairman Hans-Joachim Seeler (Socialist group) told the international press in Berlin today. They found a common wavelength in dealing with problems of mutual interest he added.

The delegation's main concern was to promote cooperation between the EEC and CEMA countries. They agreed to promote all efforts for disarmament in whatever form with the goal of finally reaching a nonattack capability for forces in the East and West. What has been developed as a security partnership between the two German states should be valid for both parts of Europe.

Hans-Joachim Seeler announced that the delegation welcomed the GDR's announcement that it will send its own ambassador to the EEC and is interested in advancing beyond the trade agreement currently being negotiated with the EEC to a cooperation agreement. Answering questions, the politician expressly emphasized the EEC's interest in intensifying economic relations with the GDR and the other CEMA states, which would continue to be important partners for the EEC. He called the restriction of technology transfer by the COCOM [Coordinating Commission on Export Controls] lists pure nonsense. Such trade restrictions damage both sides.

Rudi Arndt, chairman of the Socialist group answered a question on the coming EEC summit in Rhodes by pointing to a decision by the European Parliament in which the heads of government were expressly called on not to allow any isolation from third countries with the creation of an EEC single market. The resolution, jointly proposed by the Socialists and Christian Democrats, called for close political and economic relations with the CEMA countries.

Hans-Joachim Seeler stressed that during the talks in Berlin differing opinions had also been discussed. That is only natural when the problems of our times are being discussed. The purpose of the talks had was to promote what unites us and to overcome what divides us. [passage omitted]

Reichelt, Saarland Environment Minister Meet

LD2211000688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1801 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Hans Reichelt, GDR deputy prime minister and environmental protection and water management minister, and Josef Leinen, Saarland minister for the environment, today in Berlin discussed environmental policy issues.

The two ministers agreed that since the signing of the agreement on further shaping the GDR-FRG relations in the sphere of environmental protection, cooperatiion with the Saarland had also developed positively. This document was signed during the official visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to the FRG in September 1987. So far there have been 16 meetings of environmental experts, among whom had also been representatives of the Saarland.

In the constructive and objective exchange of view, the two men gave priority to the discussion of possibilities for expanding scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the Saarland in the rational exploitation of natural resources. They concurred that equal collaboration in environmental protection in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and for mutual advantage helpful and useful for the further normalization of relations between the two German states.

The ministers briefed one another on measures and projects for the shaping and protection of the natural environment, They gave high priority to water resources protection tasks, with particular attention being paid to new knowledge in the use of biotechnology and computer technology and in the introduction of closed material cycles. In this connection Dr Reichelt explained the GDR's extensive efforts to reduce cross-border water pollution.

In the GDR a large variety clean-air measures are also being introduced. They particularly concern the use of a number of the GDR's own processes in some 30 pilot and test plants for the reduction and prevention of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen monoxide emissions into the atmosphere. At the beginning of this month in Sofia, the GDR and 24 other states signed a protocol on the reduction of nitrogen monoxide emissions.

Other topics discussed were the recycling of materials and the economic reprocessing and harmless disposal of industrial and municipal waste products.

Dr Reichelt spoke about the responsibility which all state bodies and enterprises bear under the Constitution for the protection of nature and the rational use of its resources. The Constitution also states that protection of the natural environment is the concern of every citizen. In this connection the minister emphasized the notable effectiveness of social organizations such as the Society for Nature and the Environment, which promoted and supported the multifarious citizens' initiatives in this area.

Tisch Receives FRG Railway Unionists

AU2911113388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Nov 88 pp 1-2

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation of the Central Executive Committee of the German Railroad Employees Union in the DGB, headed by Chairman Rudi Schaefer, for a talk in Berlin on Friday [25 November 88]. In an objective and open talk, experiences and problems connected with the representation of interests by the trade unions in different social systems and questions of the international situation were discussed. Both sides stressed the growing responsibility of the trade unions of the two German states for securing peace and advocated the support of the initiated disarmament process by concrete actions, in order to make it irreversible. [passage omitted]

Socialist Human Rights, Duties Assessed

AU2911125188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Nov 88 p 9

[Commentary by Guenter Kertzscher: "Human Rights-Human Duties"]

[Excerpts] The nonsense of a "threat from the East" is withering away under the sun of socialist peace policy. The people in the NATO countries believe in it less and less. In a recent poll carried out by the Infas public opinion institute some 94 percent of FRG citizens declared that they did not believe in a Soviet attack. What is anticommunist propaganda to do now? In its report the Sixth Meeting of the Central Committee points out that imperialist media and politicians are shifting their ideological attacks to substitute fields, mainly involving the exercise of accusing the socialist countries of a deficit in human rights. However, directing the term "human rights" against us as a projectile damages their own glass house.

In socialism human rights find an order in which the demand for them can become a reality. Even in the past century, when there was not yet any socialist society, the workers would sing: "The International fights to secure human rights." Today in our country, we are struggling for the conditions under which human rights can develop more and more perfectly.

Why does socialism have a solid basis for fulfilling the tasks that have been formulated in human rights in an increasingly better way? In his speech to kreis first secretaries in February 1988, Erich Honecker said: "For the first time in history these rights have been created as an expression of identical basic interests of individuals and society in socialism."

Let us take as an example the right to work, a particularly important human right. Laid down by international law in the UN Declaration on Human Rights and in the corresponding convention it is valid in theory, but in some places not in fact. In the different systems conditions vary fundamentally. In the capitalist system profit is the supreme and ultimately the decisive factor. The immediate interest of the owner of capital, and thus of a minority, is profit. This is a long way off from identical basic interests of society on the one hand, and the majority of individuals on the other.

The supreme goal of socialism is to secure and improve living conditions for all. Certainly, there are the special interests of certain groups and individuals in socialism, too. However, there is no antagonism with regard to basic interests. One might think that each country ought to be able to organize work in a way that all can participate and benefit from it. In the FRG, for instance, the trade unions have made proposals in this respect. However, as soon as the owners of capital fear that this does not equate with a maximum increase in profits, such proposals meet with obstacles. After all, profit is the first principle, and the right to work is a long way behind. Socialism does not have this antagonism of basic interests and full employment is feasible.

Socialism offers the basis for the validity of human rights—in the above mentioned case, but also in other cases. Why are there two human rights conventions, one "on civil and political rights" and another one on "economic, social, and cultural rights?" The capitalist countries insisted on that. Thus they made it possible for themselves not to sign or ratify the convention on economic, social, and cultural human rights, which, for understandable reasons, they treat very cautiously. We do not make any such difference, but stand by both conventions on human rights that were declared in 1966. [passage omitted]

Human rights are only one side of the matter. There is good reason why rights and duties are mentioned together as two interrelated terms. In his above-mentioned speech last February, Erich Honecker said: "It goes without saying that human rights in socialism involve civil duties, too." We put this short statement on a pedestal so that it can be clearly seen, since in many cases, the inclination to demand rights is stronger than the will to fulfill duties.

[Passage omitted] Obviously, duty cannot be anything that falls from some idealistic cloud and hits man on the head. It is interlinked with the complexity of the real world, as are other ethical categories, too. This means that it reflects social interests in the sphere of ethics or legality. In a class society it reflects class interests. In the capitalist society, with its antagonistic class interests, it represents the duty that has seemingly been deduced from a sublime absolute ethical understanding, and the pressure of the interests of an exploiting minority on the exploited majority. In more general terms, this is the historical reason why the word "duty" sometimes has a bitter taste.

This historical reason is absent in socialism, because the basic interests between individual and society are in harmony. Thus, for the socialist conscience, duty acquires a more friendly aspect. This does not mean that duty is always an easy thing. Despite the unity of interest and duty, inherent laziness acts against it, and in the individual case interests and inclination may be an obstacle. However, the necessity of duty becomes understandable. Duties are part of the motivation of a socialist personality.

The development of socialist society includes the duty to enhance socialist property. The scientific-technological revolution requires a higher sense of duty; human error can cause damage that is worse than in the times of simpler production means. The velocity with which science and technology have developed makes it a duty to learn and keep on learning. The duty to defend our socialist state and to secure peace continues to be of eminent importance. Our country's compulsory military service contributes to guaranteeing the human right to a life in peace.

Fulfilling the duties in our socialist state increasingly creates the basis for the reality of human rights. Demands alone do not lead to anything. The right to education, to public health, to old-age assistance—all this costs money. The question: Who is going to pay for it? Who earns the means? "To perform activities that are useful for society is an honorable duty of all citizens that are able to work," the GDR Constitution states (Article 24). In this sense we regard human rights as a challenge.

In the above mentioned speech, Erich Honecker said that "to exercise human rights in the GDR means to help shape socialism." We are building our society in such a way that everybody gets the best possible chance to fully develop his talents: a personality that works in the community.

To really release man's potential creative power is not an easy job. In a hundred generations of class society man has always been restricted by narrow limits. The creation of new conditions does not automatically provide new attitudes. Our socialist democracy has created wide scope for us to take part in shaping society. What matters is that more and more citizens make full use of this scope. What are human and civil rights to mean if we do not make use of them by taking part in shaping socialism? [passage omitted]

Glasnost Club Criticizes MSZMP

LD0412193388 Budapest MTI in English
1730 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—The general assembly of the Glasnost Club, held on Saturday in Budapest, held a debate on the state of glasnost and elected working committees.

The general assembly of the club, set up at the end of October mainly from workers of the written and electronic press for the constitutional protection of the freedom of press, set forth the position of the acting body. In this, they object to the terms in the speech heard at the session of the HSWP Central Committee on November 1-2 and included in the standpoint of the HSWP Central Committee, which in general condemns the press. They also said they consider Hungarian radio, Hungarian television and the Hungarian news agency MTI to be national institutions, and their supervision is also fulfilled by the minister of state. It follows from this, states the position of the club, that they should authentically mediate all efforts and views present in society that are not contrary to the Constitution.

The general assembly set up nine working committees, three of which are to seek answers with thorough examinations in several directions to who the radio, television and the news agency belong to, [sentence as received] while the other six will be active as thematic committees.

National Trade Union Conference Held

Grosz Delivers Speech

LD0312232388 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Speech by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz at the National Trade Union conference session in Budapest on 3 December—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed conference, esteemed fellow members, comrades: On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, I thank you for the honor of your invitation and allowing me to speak. I regard it as my duty to state that I agree with the spirit and endeavors of the written submission and verbal supplement.

This discussion of almost 3 days is a significant stage of the political renewal which is taking place in the whole of the country, and this is a good thing. The results of this will are difficult to evaluate as yet, because we are living in the momentum of the first charge. However, it can already be seen that we are progressing in the right direction, that many new values are coming about, though there are also undesirable by-products, which, in my judgment, is quite natural. Time, the necessary discipline, patience, and up-to-date preparedness are needed, because it is only in this way that we can recognize the values that we wish to support and what things are harmful and from which we have to set ourselves apart.

The search for the right path involves debates as well. It is not a flattering proof of our political culture that there are still many people who suffer very badly from dissenting opinions. Without this, however, there cannot be partnership, cooperation, and compromise either. So while we jointly decided to form a new relationship on the cooperation between the party, the government, the trade unions and the various social organizations, we also must learn to cooperate in a new way. What happens here, today, in this hall now, i.e. the renewal of the trade union movement, means the development of political pluralism in Hungary. At the party conference, the opinion strengthened according to which the main direction of our democratic further development lies in the modernization of the existing political institutions. With this we did not question the justification of the alternative movements, we only wanted to emphasize that we must not be mistaken regarding the dimensions; the future of the country depends on the operation of political institutions which have firm mass support.

The interests of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is that the workers should be united by a trade union movement which has a reputation obtained by work and mass support, a trade union which has an independent political aspect,—concept—for the protection of interests and strength for the daily struggle. Its standpoint is built on reality and it adopts the constitutional order. This is the only way for it, not in an opportunist manner, but with a critical concept and with certain self-control required for politicizing in a cultured way, to support the policy jointly elaborated.

The party can contribute to this in two ways: First, if the party requires from its members that their party activity in the factories and working places should be carried out first of all in the trade unions. Through this they should take part in enriching the political content of the work regarding the protection of interests, in deepening the spirit of solidarity, and last but not least, I would like to particularly stress that relying on the experiences gained there, they should contribute to the continuous development and renewal of the party's policy. Second, the party movement can actively contribute to the cooperation if the party, exercizing self-control compared to its earlier practice, dealing not with the daily practical questions, but with the development of the national and local policy, and securing its acceptance and with the interpretation of the changes happening in society and in the world, contributes to shaping the general consciousness and will not take upon itself, either from excess zeal or intentionally, trade union functions.

This concept of ours is not only due to our political opinion created today but also to the fact that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, with the uniting of the two big parties, has grown from the trade union movement. Nowadays we deal a very great deal with the development of the political system; and we are right to do so. However, the purpose of the functioning of the political system is to help human beings to a better life and its foundation is the constant and continuous improvements in the effectiveness of production. We concern ourselves with that much less than necessary. This is one of the sources of our current problems.

The Hungarian economy is functioning at a very low level of effectiveness, not only in comparison with the more modern and developed national economies but also as measured against its own possibilities. Personally, I consider the reason to lie first and foremost in our theoretical mistakes. I would like to refer to two of them. One of these is that we interpreted the era of socialism not as one characterized by mixed ownership but as a uniformly socially owned economy, while we did not develop those incentives and means of pressure with which we could have ensured the greater efficiency of the social property. Another such mistaken approach, in my evaluation, is that the state took upon itself over 4 decades the responsibility of making provisions which it cannot fulfill at this level of the productive forces. We want to change this: This is what we have proclaimed. This in itself will be very difficult to carry out, first and foremost because of the conservative outlook.

I would like to refer here to one of the speeches given today, in which we heard the critical remark that to legitimize incomes acquired without work is wrong. However, without this there cannot be an economy based on mixed ownership. The rapid implementation of our realization is made more difficult also by the fact that during the past 15 years we have accumulated a stock of foreign debts which is gradually bringing the economy to the point where it is unable to function. It is this which the program that we submitted to the National Assembly in September last year wishes to prevent. I would like to stress here to you, because I feel that there is a great deal of misunderstanding about this, that this is not the program for the long-term development of the Hungarian economy. This is only an action program for the prevention of an economic crisis. Our economic strategy is yet to be developed, by us, jointly, together. It is clear that the fulfillment of even this short-term, 3-4 year program, is difficult to live through. Because everything that you have criticized us for in this hall is nothing but that which we have set out in the government program. It is not more; in fact, it might be a little less.

At this conference as well, very few demands were put forward which are not justified. Only these are not possible to implement now, with a single act of decision, for a very simple prosaic reason: There is no time. Thus, I am not asking for patience and understanding for the government or for a leadership, but for the country and in the interests of the country. It is not a case of this government having to be compelled, as was said on one of the speeches here today. This government has undertaken the impossible; it needs to be helped, with criticism, with debate—if it gives cause for it—with reasoned words, but certainly with the demonstration of the conflicts of interests which exist in reality.

Naturally, the present Hungarian economic problems cannot be explained by ideological mistakes alone. During the past decades technological development has slowed down. Over the decades we have dissipated our resources instead of using them purposefully to transform the structure. Intellectual work, as has been said here, was devalued in the sphere of production as well. We invested vast sums on uneconomic projects which only slowly recovered the cost invested in them. We misjudged the international economic process, and so on.

However, among the reasons there is also a slackening in work discipline and work ethics. I am convinced, however, that some people protest against this, it is not in the process of production that democracy is to be practiced. According to our experiences, the effectiveness of production depends essentially on four factors: Modern production equipment; the marketability of products; the skills of the workers and engineers; and, last but not least, on the order and discipline of production.

In the organization of production, and in the work of direction, it is impossible to create order without personal responsibility for which someone can be called to account. Thus, I see a conceptual confusion as regards the employment of personal responsibility and workplace democracy. I profess that without the substantive development of democracy there is no Hungarian resurgence. But democracy must be practiced where it is needed in the interests of the individual, the community, and society, that is—where people can thereby participate in the development of their own fate and the future of the country. In the workplaces this means working out collective agreements, then agreement between two equal partners, workers, meetings held outside working time, conferences of shop stewards and trade union committees, where the local and national interests of the workers are formulated. Without experiences gained in this way it is impossible to manage either an enterprise or a country.

However, the technological process, order, and the voluntarily accepted discipline which goes with work cannot be the subject of debate. At the same time I would like to stress that the demand for strict work discipline is not the same as inhumanity or rudeness. Thus, making high demands on individuals, us, and the collectives is the duty of every manager, because this is at the same time an expression of respect for others, for the majority.

Both in today's debate and in yesterday's there were many recommendations and advice which are also useful for the party and from which we must learn. I thank you for these; we shall take them into consideration during our work. On various matters, matters of detail, my opinion differs from those of the speakers, but this is something that I regard as perfectly natural. After all, we evaluate the processes occurring in reality on the basis of different [word indistinct]. This will probably continue to be so in the future. Consequently we must meet more often, to talk, to debate, and to exchange our views.

Two specific remarks, because these were addressed to me. One of these is in response to the lady comrade's question who works in commerce. My view regarding the situation of commerce did not change with the change in my function. In my view it was in any case not formed in the prime ministerial chair but much earlier, when I was still a party worker in the counties, and I gained them in the shops. I shall continue to represent these views in the future as well.

Secondly, in response to my young friend there, I have to tell you, there is no dispute between us, for several reasons. Fundamentally, because I agree with what you have said and also because more than anyone young people have a right to express their views with passion. I wish you all much success and good work, in the interest of our common cause, and in the interest of a consolidated, developing, socialist Hungary. Thank you very much. [applause]

S. Nagy Queried on TU Role

LD0412221288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Interview with SZOT Secretary General Sandor Nagy by unidentified correspondent at SZOT conference in Budapest on 4 December—recorded; from "The Week" program]

[Text] [Correspondent] If I remember correctly, you said in your verbal supplementary that you would not like the trade unions to become a battleground for political struggles.

[Nagy] I went on to say, if I remember well, that we would not like the trade unions to fall apart as a result of various political groupings attempting to pull the present trade unions apart into various trade union groups in order to gain or strengthen their own influence. We wish to preserve the unity based on the solidarity of the trade union movement.

[Correspondent] I think that the trade unions cannot be free of politics, and if this is so, then it is inconceivable that different views should not clash.

[Nagy] Of course, this is also the case now in the trade union movement. With a trade union membership of over 4 million there are very diverse ideologies, political views, interests, and specific endeavours. Let me recall that in many countries abroad where there are several parties, big trade union federations have managed to create and preserve their federation, even on the basis of a multiparty system, acting in unison to represent the most basic interests of the employees.

[Correspondent] You also say that the Hungarian trade union movement is also responsible for the present economic and political situation; after all the movement earlier was a participant in power.

[Nagy] Yes, we must definitely accept this responsibility. After all, this organization was part of the system of political institutions; it would simply not be true to say that everything happened without the knowledge of participation of the trade unions. It is another matter that by trade union movement we must mean in this context not the membership of over 4 million but primarily the trade union leaders.

[Correspondent] The various speeches here formulated various demands. Can you say what path the trade union movement will be following from now on?

[Nagy] To put this very concisely, I think that the main thought of this conference is that it should function as a federation created by trade unions which are built from below, determined from below, which are democratically organized, and which possess a great deal of independence. This is the organizational-political concept of this conference. This gives rise of course to a whole range of specific tasks. I would like to say in this connection that, of course, in a such a large organization it is not a question of deciding today and realizing it by tomorrow; for that reason it is very important that we expect an early congress to be held at the end of the 1980's. In other words, we would like this movement to transform itself in this spirit during next year, and in the fall of 1989 the founding congress of the new federation could work, I should imagine, in the same headquarters.

[Correspondent] I must speak here of the relations between the SZOT and the various alternative trade unions.

[Nagy] Of course. I have expressed my views on this many times. Once again, what I can say on this is that, on my own part—and I say this also on behalf of the trade union leaders—we regard the appearance of alternative trade unions as a natural phenomenon, in part as a criticism of our work and in part as a process which is connected with other phenomena. I think that we have to coexist and work together with these organizations. The present situation foreshadows the picture of a genuine pluralistic trade union movement.

[Correspondent] What are relations like between the government and SZOT?

[Nagy] Well, the relationship is contradictory. This arises first and foremost from the very difficult situation which this country now finds itself in, and from the very serious economic and political legacy which was left to us as the product of an earlier period. In this difficult situation the trade unions' scope for maneuver is extremely limited. In a period such as this—when we know that scope is limited, while at the same time the tensions require that we should adopt the firmest possible stance—this relationship is necessarily contradictory. Beside all this, we endeavour to put stress on the development of a relationship of substantive social partnership between the trade unions and the government. I interpret this as meaning that on those matters where it is necessary to support the interests of the country, the trade union should support the government without hesitation. However, where the trade union is convinced of its own justice, it should realize its demands with the firmest, and if necessary, tough action.

Government, TU Representatives Hold Talks

LD2811163588 Budapest MTI in English 1540 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—Representatives of the government and the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) met in consultation in the parliament building on Monday at noon. The government's delegation is headed by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, and the unions' delegation by Sandor Nagy, SZOT general secretary.

The sides approved the minister's proposal to discuss amendments to the Labour Code, the debated items of the 1989 National Economic Plan, and topical employment policy issues.

Mr Nagy highly appreciated the government's preparedness to hold the meeting which, he said, is taking place in a very difficult situation. The trade unions start from the fact that next year the people of the country will invariably have to bear great burdens, and resolutely asked that they should not be imposed, and the original conception revised. They seek for compromises concerning the trend of real wages in 1989, and the compensation of price increases by higher social-welfare allowances and pensions. With regard to possible sources, the SZOT general secretary raised the idea of further decreasing military expenditure, postponing major investment projects, and cutting the subsidies granted for loss-making companies.

Mr Pozsgay stressed that last week the parliamentary meeting proved that the government had a good negotiating position even in the present economic situation. The government does not wish to assume political responsibility for the era and errors that led to the economic crisis of the country. "New conditions and new starting points should be created to advance towards new boundaries in cooperation," he said.

PPF Sponsors TU-Church Dialogue

AU0512133388 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Nov 88 p 5

[MTI report: "Talks Between Representatives of the National Trade Union Council and the Churches"]

[Text] Representatives of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] and heads of the charity organizations of churches in Hungary held a contact-establishing meeting aimed at laying the foundations for their cooperation. Also present at the meeting organized in the PPF Headquarters was PPF General Secretary Istvan Huszar. In the future, the SZOT and the churches intend to strengthen their contacts primarily in assisting the elderly and the sick.

How did this meeting come about?—we asked Robert Juhasz, head of a department of the PPF National Council.

[Juhasz] The trade unions initiated these contacts with the churches' charity services in social policy areas. As expressed during the meeting, the trade unions are convinced that, in this way, we can act more effectively to ensure the security of existence of some strata of society and groups and individuals who are in a difficult situation.

[Question] What did the participants agree upon?

[Juhasz] Following a report made by SZOT Secretary Mrs Kosa Magda Kovacs, the representatives of the Catholic, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Jewish, and free church denominations present at the meeting expressed their agreement with the SZOT initiative and their readiness to establish a joint committee in charge of working out a concrete action program. In the first stage, the program aims at assisting the lonely and the elderly, large families, and young people who are having difficulty in adjusting to society. In this framework, the program will try to send people to empty and unused SZOT resthouses, people who would otherwise never be able to enjoy such a holiday. The participants adopted a declaration of intentions in which they stressed that they wanted to cooperate in implementing the common humanitarian national goals.

Economic Results for First 3 Quarters of 1988

AU0311165988 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Nov 88 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Main Statistical Data on Economic Situation—Economic Performance for the First 3 Quarters of 1988"]

[Text]

First 3 Quarters of 1988 (Data as a Percentage of Performance During the Same Period Last Year)

Industrial State and Cooperative Enterprises			
Volume of gross production:			
	Industry total		99.9
	within this:	metallurgy	103.9
		machine industry	100.3
		chemical industry	101.9
		building material industry	102.3
		light industry	99.4
		food industry	97.0
	Industry, excluding food		100.4
Number of employees			97.1
Gross industrial product per employee			102.9
Construction Sector of the Building Industry			
Production of the building industry			99.0
Number of employees			99.6
Foreign Trade (at current prices)			
Imports			99.3
	Ruble accounts		97.2
	Non-ruble accounts		101.2
Exports			109.2
	Ruble accounts		95.6
	Non-ruble accounts		122.7
Retail trade Turnover (at current prices)			110.5
	Within this:	Food, beverages, and tobacco	110.0
		Clothing	102.0
		Miscellaneous industrial articles	112.7
Procurement of Agricultural Products			101.7
	Within this:	Plant cultivation and garden products	108.1
		Live animals	97.2
		Animal products	101.9
Achievement of Transportation Enterprises			
Goods delivery (based on goods-tonnage/kilometers)			109.6
Long-distance transportation of passengers (based on passenger kilometers)			100.8
Population revenues from central resources			112.8
Consumer Price Index			115.9
	within this: September 1988 as compared to August 1988		100.6

In the period under study, production of the state and cooperative industrial enterprises was essentially the same as in the same period last year, and without the food industry, it increased by 0.4 percent. Production in the basic material sectors increased by 3.2 percent, the processing industry production was the same, and production of the energy sector decreased by 2.8 percent compared with the same period last year. Within the branches of the processing industry, chemical industry production registered the greatest increase: 5.0 percent, without the energy sector. Machine industry production increased by only 0.3 percent, and light industry and food industry production decreased compared with the same period last year. Domestic industrial sales decreased by 1.4 percent, and industrial exports, primarily to convertible currency markets, increased by 6 percent compared with the same period last Year.

According to preliminary data, a total of 24,415 flats were built in the period January-September 1988, 1,237 or 4.8 percent less than in the same period last year. Out of this number of flats, 2,180 flats were built by the state both in Budapest and in the provinces, fewer than in the same period last year. Private building activity also decreased somewhat due to a considerable decrease in housing construction in Budapest. Private building activity increased in the provinces.

The value of the retail trade turnover in the period January-September 1988 increased by 10.5 percent, its quantity decreased by 5.4 percent. In comparable prices, the population purchased 14.1 percent less clothing compared with the same period last year, and the turnover of the catering industry decreased by 16.6 percent. Domestic sales of food and beverages decreased by 1.9 percent, and of miscellaneous industrial articles decreased by 2.9 percent.

The consumer price index increased by an average of 15.9 percent compared with the same period last year. The greatest increase took place in the price of food, clothing, services, heating, and household energy supply.

Socialist organs spent 134.8 billion forints on investments so far this year, 5.3 percent more in current prices than a year ago. Both investments in construction and machines increased, primarily the investments in machines imported for convertible currency.

MTI Reports Different Statistics

AU0612093188 Budapest MTI in English
1307 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 05/12/1988—The output of state-owned industrial companies and industrial cooperatives between January and October this year dropped 0.2 per cent as compared to 1987. Raw material production was up 3.4 per cent, similar to that of the processing branches. Energy production, however, declined by 3 per cent. The expansion of raw material production was mostly due to favourable export opportunities. The output of the chemical industry (not including the energetic branches) rose by 3.5 per cent, and that of the engineering industry by 1 per cent. The output of light industry and the food industry fell short of last year's figures.

According to central statistical office figures, domestic industry sales dropped 1.9 per cent, while export sales went up by 5.8 per cent as compared to the same period last year. Sales to investors and the productive sector also declined. Employment in industry was down 2.9 per cent, while per capita production went up 2.8 per cent. The output of the construction industry dropped 1.8 per cent, and employment in this branch went down by 0.7 per cent.

Agricultural sales went down by 1 per cent as compared to the corresponding period of 1987. The state purchase of livestock, accounting for 58 per cent of sales, dropped by 2.1 per cent. The state purchase of crops, accounting for 42 per cent of sales, was up 0.7 per cent. Sales of cereals, sugar beet, sunflower seeds, vegetables and fruit dropped. The state purchase of wine also declined.

Retail trade turnover increased by 8.9 per cent at current prices while that of foodstuffs, wine, coffee and tobacco dropped 6.3 per cent. Sales of clothing and miscellaneous industrial products were down by 4.6 per cent, as compared to the period January-October in 1987.

The price index in the first 10 months stood at 115.8. The price basic consumer articles was up by 17.4 per cent, that of the remainder by 14.2 per cent, whilst the price of luxury goods rose by 12.5 per cent.

In the first ten months of the year, 154,900 million forints were earmarked for investment into the socialist sector, 2.1 per cent more than a year ago.

Imports were up by an overall 0.4 per cent. Rouble imports dropped by 3.4 per cent, hard-currency imports, however, rose by 3.6 per cent. Overall exports exceeded those of last year by 10.4 per cent. Exports to rouble-accounting markets fell 4.2 per cent short of exports of the corresponding period last year. Exports to hard-currency markets grew by 24.6 per cent.

Parliamentary Commissions Discuss Economy

LD1811024988 Budapest MTI in English
0021 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—The legal, administrative and judicial, as well as the plan and budget commissions of the National Assembly, held a joint session on Thursday in parliament.

The theme was the results to date of the government's stabilization programme, and the economic policy tasks for 1989.

Several MP's dealt with the coming into existence of the country's debt stock. It was said that the National Assembly did not have detailed information or a precise picture about the development of the debt. Thus, many speakers called for far more open information than at present. Janos Fekete, a prominent banking expert, also took a stand for more extensive information. He added, however, that the decision-makers have always had the necessary data available. It was no fault of banking experts that a major part of the sums raised as loans were invested in branches that do not produce exportable goods, he said.

Janos Hoos, president of the National Planning Office, said that capitalist exports rose by 29 per cent this year, the growth in exports is worth 800 million dollars. The deficit of the state budget dropped by several tens of thousands of millions of forints. He said surveys have been made on the effects of a possible insolvency of the country. An event like this, he noted, would be accompanied by a clogging of credit sources, annual interest burdens of 1,000 million dollars would have to be covered by exports, import opportunities would decline by this amount, which would cause hitches in the production of numerous products. The consequence would be a deterioration of between 25 and 30 per cent in the standard of living, and the number of unemployed would also greatly increase.

Minister of Finance Miklos Villanyi said in connection with the bill on corporate profit tax, that it has become clear since the last session of parliament that the budgetary deficit next year could be greater than expected. This is why they propose to raise the general profit tax to 55 per cent, or, in case of a 50-per-cent level, to introduce the payment of dividends burdending the assets of state enterprises. Thorough examinations were also carried out with respect to areas where budgetary expenditures could be reduced. With the exception of two areas—higher education and central research—the real value of budgetary expenditures will drop next year in all areas, including Defence. However, there are no other opportunities for savings.

Central Technical Development Fund Proposed

LD2611020388 Budapest MTI in English
2132 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—On Friday, Pal Tetenyi, president of the state office for technical development, put forward to parliament the bill on the central technical development fund.

Mr Tetenyi said that the smaller part of central funds available for research and technical development are covered by the state budget and the larger part by the central technical development fund. The fund financed by the contribution of economic organizations has for long been operating according to its purpose. The bill was primarily initiated because the major changes taking place in the system of economic management have surpassed the continuously updated central technical development fund, and the new regulation should be enacted under the law on legislation approved by parliament last year. This is also justified by the role and importance of technical development.

As a major change, the extent of contribution will become irrespective of sectors and organizations, and put on a normative basis. This will put an end to the anomaly of the former regulation that some economic organizations did not contribute to the central fund while other branches, first of all the R and D-intensive engineering and chemical industries, paid disproportionately high sums.

Contribution to the fund is not a tax, the economic organizations will invariably pay it as expenses. The rate of contribution stemmed from the sum envisaged in the 7th Five-Year Plan. The total sum of contributions will remain unchanged, the scope of contributors will be expanded, while some sectors, primarily the above mentioned, will pay lower contributions.

The law will put the system of centralized R and D contributions on more stable and more calculable foundations.

The central technical development fund is to finance projects, instead of institutions. The sums paid from the fund are used exclusively under contracts.

After Mr Tetenyi's contribution the Friday programme of the Hungarian National Assembly came to an end. On Saturday parliament is to continue its work with a debate over the bill on the central technical development fund.

First Agricultural Stock Corporation Established

AU02N162388 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 1 Nov 88 p 5

[MTI report: "The First Hungarian Agricultural Stock Corporation Established"]

[Text] The Council of the Hajdusag Agricultural Association held a meeting in Nadudvar on 31 October chaired by Istvan Szabo and declared the liquidation of this association. Following this, a founding meeting was held for the Hajdusag Agricultural Stock Corporation, with the participation of 19 former members of the defunct association as stock holders. The base capital of this new economic organization—the first agricultural stock corporation in Hungary—is 2,601 billion forints. In proportion with their capital, the founders of this new corporation purchased 2,601 nominal value stocks of 1 million forints each. According to the decision of the founding session, the new stock corporation will be the legal successor of the former agricultural association and will also remain a member of the Hungarian Economic Chamber and of the district federation of agricultural cooperatives. The 9-member board of directors and the 12-member supervisory committee held their first meeting following the founding session. Istvan Szabo, chairman of the Red Star Agricultural Cooperative of Nadudvar, was elected as chairman of the board of directors of the new stock corporation, and Ivan Novobaczky, the director of the former agricultural association, was elected as the corporation's managing director.

Officially, the new stock corporation came into being only after being registered at the Hajdu-Bihar County Court, as the registry court. In connection with the establishment of the new stock corporation, Ivan Novobaczky said that the former Hajdusag Agricultural Association was the first to be established in the framework of agricultural modernization 12 years ago, and its successful activity had greatly contributed to the strengthening of its member cooperatives. The current organizational modernization was primarily required by the fact that the new law on business associations does not recognize or regulate this form of agricultural association. The heads of the former association decided that a stock corporation would be the most suitable form to meet their goals. The new stock corporation is a legal successor of the former association and the greatest share holder of the Hungarian-Japanese Fermentation Industry Corporation which recently began construction of a factory between Nadudvar and Kaba capable of producing 5,000 tonnes of lysine annually.

Import Duties for Western Cars To Be Reduced

AU0811122688 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1100 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Hungarian import duties for passenger cars from the West will be dramatically reduced as of the beginning of next year. The purpose of the measure is to shorten the long waiting periods in the Hungarian car business through increased private imports. Some 300,000 buyers are currently waiting for the delivery of a car from the East bloc. Austrian car dealers are likely to benefit from the reduction of import duties. [passage omitted]

Grosz Receives European Parliament President

LD1011224388 Budapest MTI in English
2022 Gmt 10 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers'

Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Lord Plumb, president of the European Parliament, in the parliament building on Thursday. At talks the sides exchanged views on East-West relations, and issues of European cooperation, the relation between Hungary and the Western European integration institutions. Also present at the cordial meeting were Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly, Laszlo Kovacs, deputy foreign minister, and Emmanouil Kalpadhakis, ambassador of the Hellenic Republic - which fulfills the function of current president of the European communities—to Hungary.

Following, Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi hosted a dinner in honour of Lord Plumb, in the Hotel Duna Intercontinental.

EC's Plumb Talks With Szuros, Departs

LD1211103188 Budapest MTI in English 1615 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—Lord Henry Plumb, President of the European Parliament, who visited Hungary at the invitation of Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, left Budapest on Friday.

Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialst workers' Party and president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of parliament, gave a special breakfast in honour of the British politician in Hotel Gellert. The sides exchanged views on the development of the European Economic Community, the East-West dialogue, and the issue of human rights. Lord Plumb set out the position of the EEC member countries on the unified West European internal market to be established by 1992, and also touched on the standpoint of other states. The British politician provided information on the European parliamentary elections scheduled for next year. Mr Szuros said that Hungary was very interested in getting involved in the processes of international economic integration.

Later on, Lord Plumb visited Ferihegy cooperative farm at Vecses, near Budapest. Lord Plumb left Budapest early in the afternoon. He was seen off from Ferihegy Airport by Antal Reger, member of he Foreign Affairs Commission of Parliament, and Emmanouil Kalpadhakis, ambassador to Hungary of the Hellenic Republic: Greece is the current president of the European Communities.

Stadinger, Council of Europe President Meet

LD2411032588 Budapest MTI in English 2038 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—At the talks of Istvan Stadinger, president of the parliament, and Louis Jung, president of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, held in budapest on Wednesday it was mentioned that the Hungarian National Assembly and the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe are seeing to develop cooperation and that the Council of Europe would welcome participation by Hungarian deputies.

Prior to his meeting with Istvan Stadinger, Louis Jung met Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs.

Andras Farago, head of parliament's press office, told MTI that Hungary replied favourably to the proposal made by the Council of Europe for cooperation.

Relations between the Hungarian National Assembly and the Council of Europe for cooperation.

Relations between the Hungarian National Assembly and the Council of Europe were established several months ago and there have been exchange visits of delegations between Budapest and Strasbourg. During the present visit one of the vice-presidents of the Council of Europe proposed the Hungarian deputies take part in the work of the council's highest organ the parliamentary assembly and its committees. Istvan Stadinger voiced the Hungarian party's resolute preparedness for cooperation to Louis Jung, the first president of council to visit Hungary.

Louis Jung voiced his conviction that there will be a suitable framework of cooperation, and laid particular emphasis on culture, environmental protection and youth policy. The cooperation could contribute to maintaining the varied and developed European traditions. Louis Jung said that the Council of Europe will take into consideration the geopolitical situation of Hungary and the initiative role it plays in the reform process. It advocates the development of cooperation, hoping Hungary will undertake a role in the building of international relations.

The bilateral relations between the Council of Europe and the Hungarian parliament constitute a part of the all-European dialogue, in which the cooperation of national assemblies is becoming increasingly important, said Louis Jung. Istvan Stadinger stated: 'We are seeking the lasting accomplishment of high-level cooperation.'

In the afternoon Mr Jung met Pal Ivanyi, president of the metropolitan council and member of the Political Committee of the HSWP.

In the eveing Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave a dinner in honour of Louis Jung.

Jung Concludes Visit, Departs

LD2511104888 Budapest MTI in English 0905 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—On Friday Louis Jung, president of the General Assembly of the Council of Europe, left Budapest for the Warsaw meeting of the parliamentary speakers of the European countries. He was invited to Hungary by Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly.

1989 Trade Protocol Signed With Yugoslavia

LD1211134588 Budapest MTI in English 2141 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—Deputy Minister of Trade Imre Dunai, and Djordje Hadji-Mihailovic, deputy minister of the Federal Foreign Trade Secretariat, signed on behalf of the Hungarian and the Yugoslav governments, the goods turnover and services-turnover protocol for 1989. Plans envisage turnover worth 646 million dollars for 1989 - exports are to be worth 313 million dollars, and imports 333 million dollars. This surpasses the value envisaged for this year. The protocol envisages the value of border-zone trade as 50 million dollars for each side. Apart from goods turnover, the inter-state protocol also includes services-turnover valued at 120 million dollars which, together with goods turnover, will ensure the balanced nature of the total turnover. Long-term cooperation and other production cooperation agreement provide the basis for about 35 to 40 per cent of the envisaged turnover.

The Yugoslav deputy minister met Miklos Villanyi, minister of finance and president of the Hungarian section of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Economic Cooperation Committee, and Istvan Torok, under-secretary of state of the Ministry of Trade.

Grosz Delivers Toast at Paris Dinner 17 Nov

AU2211143888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Nov 88 p 3

[Toast by MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz at a festive dinner given in his honor by French Premier Michel Rocard at the Quai D'Orsay in Paris on 17 November: "Karoly Grosz: New Interest Relations in Europe"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I express my heartfelt thanks, Mr Prime Minister, for the opportunity to meet you. I would like to make use of this opportunity to say that, together with my entourage, we highly appreciate the cordial reception, the rich program, and the substantial and advancing talks held with President Mitterrand and with the prime minister today.

This is not my first visit to your beautiful capital, and, as before, I have come with pleasure this time too, because, as Victor Hugo writes, "the air of Paris preserves the soul." As you well know, Hungary feels sympathy and friendship toward France. Based on this almost 1,000-year-old sympathy and friendship, we expect of our current visit that it will give an impetus to concrete areas of our cooperation.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

Ladies and gentlemen!

I am aware of the fact that the interest manifested in France toward the changes under way in Hungary, changes that can justifiably be called historic, has helped to facilitate my current visit.

The changes currently under way in Hungary are connected with the fact that a period of our history has definitely come to an end. We have exhausted all the opportunities of political and economic development provided by the previous framework of socialism. On the basis of the achievements and experiences of past decades, the only feasible way of solving our accumulated problems is by carrying out a comprehensive renewal of our political and economic system and by implementing the reform process. Our political will to achieve this goal remains firm and we are confident that this could provide the basis for a new national consensus.

The primary goal of our political reforms is to create a democratic and socialist constitutional state which provides appropriate conditions for the free development of the people's readiness to create, which is essential for implementing our economic goals. To this effect, we have started to reconstruct our entire public law, and we have set ourselves the goal of amending the Constitution and the electoral law, and of working out a series of laws to extend citizens' rights.

The economic reform process is aimed at developing conditions that will guarantee the efficient operation of state, cooperative, and private property and of foreign capital, which will enable the Hungarian economy to catch up with the vanguard of world economy.

In a recent article published in LE MONDE, you, Mr Prime Minister, stressed the fact that "coordination of economic and social policies is a requirement that no modern nation can avoid." In this respect too, we view with interest the elements of the French practice which we can also apply, particularly ways of solving the social policy problems that accompany restructuring.

In order to implement its program of stabilization and development, the Hungarian Government is paying particular attention to the discovery of foreign resources deriving from international cooperation. We count on the fact that our measures aimed at improving the legal and economic conditions of our cooperation will also raise the interest of French capital in investment opportunities in Hungary. We see that our intentions coincide with the newly declared French foreign economic goals. Hungary is open to business contacts. We are ready to create new and modern forms of cooperation, all the more so because failing to advance in the economic area could hinder the development of our cooperation in other areas too.

Ladies and gentlemen!

In an interview given in the spring of this year, President Mitterrand spoke about the year 1992 and said that "we will have to play out a huge game within 5 years which will determine the power relations prevailing in the next century." For our part, by slightly modifying Mr Mitterrand's words, we profess that "Hungary is our homeland and Europe is our future." We want to strengthen Hungarian-French cooperation in the future also for the benefit of Europe. New types of interest relations and similarities of interest are emerging in Europe which differ from the previous, traditional concepts. The Eastern and Western sides of Europe can no longer be interested in the failures and crises of the other side, only in joint development.

We have quite similar positions concerning ways to eliminate the division of our continent and to develop all-European cooperation. We are jointly responsible for the future of Europe. Only a united Europe can successfully answer the challenges coming from other continents. We feel that the French foreign minister's concept on the direction an all-European cooperation should take is a sound basis for such unity. We welcome the proposals made by President Mitterrand at the UN General Assembly session which are close to the similar initiatives made by our alliance. We are following with interest the new East-European emphases in French foreign policy and we support this opening by making use of the opportunities inherent in Hungarian-French cooperation.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Favorable processes have emerged in international relations in recent years. It is promising that the dialogue in the Soviet-U.S. relations, which are extremely important for peace and security in the world, has become continuous, and that one can notice readiness on both sides to settle controversial international issues by political means, to avoid conflicts, and to develop a mutually advantageous cooperation.

The first, historically-important building blocks of the new style of East-West relations are already in place. These building blocks include the four Soviet-U.S. summits, the INF Treaty, and the joint efforts of the two big powers to settle local crises with the active participation of the United Nations. We should further build on these pillars.

The issue of reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe has come to the fore recently. Simultaneously with the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna, the 23 states belonging to the two military alliances have come close to working out the mandate of future negotiations on conventional disarmament. We hope that genuine talks will be able to commence as early as this year.

Hungary is directly interested in taking part already in the first phase of this arms reduction process. Of course, the reduction of Hungarian armed forces and their arms and the withdrawal of Soviet military forces stationed in Hungary cannot be unilateral steps, but should take place in the framework of a balanced process of disarmament in Europe.

Due to its situation, Hungary attributes particular importance to the process of security and cooperation in Europe. The Hungarian foreign policy activity aims at bringing about agreements at the Vienna follow-up meeting which will contribute to the soonest possible implementation of the principles and proposals of the Helsinki final document.

We also consider it to be an important requirement that the natural strengthening of the processes of integration should not increase the division of Europe, but should create better conditions for strengthening all-European cooperation. Therefore, we are building our contacts with the European communities, the European Parliament, and with the Council of Europe. We hope that the agreement recently signed with the EEC—which was also facilitated by France's readiness for cooperation—will encourage Hungary's relations with all EEC member states, including the Hungarian-French cooperation.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I hope our talks during my current visit will creatively contribute to the dynamic development of Hungarian-French relations, setting an example for confidential relations and mutual cooperation advantages between countries of different social systems.

I raise my glass in the spirit of these thoughts, to the health of the prime minister and our French friends here, to the friendship and prosperity of the Hungarian and French peoples, and to peace!

Nemeth Receives FRG Province Official

LD3011181288 Budapest MTI in English
1627 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Gustav Wabro, state secretary of Baden-Wuerttemberg province of the FRG, in the parliament building on Wednesday. Mr Wabro is visiting Hungary at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture.

Poszgay Received by FRG's Genscher

LD0512204288 Budapest MTI in English
1923 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn, December 5 (MTI)—On Monday Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Minister of State, held political talks in Bonn with Vice-Chancellor and

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Previously he attended the international conference of Europeanism and Hungary at the Evangelical Academy of Arnoldshain.

On discussing international issues and the position and prospects of the process of detente, Mr Pozsgay and Mr Genscher expressed their common interest in continuing the policy of detente. In this context, they stressed the importance of the socio-economic restructuring scheme of the Soviet Union and the reforms under way in the socialist countries as favourable prerequisites of detente and East-West cooperation. They also discussed the dialectics of disarmament and how far it can promote the necessary confidence.

Mr Genscher stressed the interest of the Federal Republic of Germany in the progress of the Soviet restructuring scheme and the Hungarian reform.

During his third meeting with Hans-Deitrich Genscher, held in an open and friendly atmosphere, Imre Pozsgay gave detailed information on the reform endeavours of the Hungarian government, current home political events, the correlations of the government's economic policy and the political reforms, and the preparations for the new constitution and human rights in Hungary.

The parties laid particular emphasis on the idea of Central European and European cooperation. While taking a stand for their own alliance commitments, they looked for further opportunities of cooperation in common European institutions on a reciprocal basis. They spoke appreciatively of the Mikhail Gorbachev's concept of building a "common European house".

The parties stated they were looking forward to the forthcoming visit of Hans-Deitrich Genscher to Budapest.

During the day, Mr Pozsgay met Graf Otto von Lambsdorff, president of the Free Democratic Party (FDP), and Wolfgang Mischnick, head of the parliamentary group of FDP.

Church Affairs Delegation Visits FRG

AU3011170088 NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Nov 88 p

[Text] A Hungarian church affairs delegation led by State Secretary Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, visited Duesseldorf, Bonn, and Cologne 20-25 November at the invitation of Johannes Rau, minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia. Bishop Karoly Toth, ecumenical chairman of the Hungarian Presbyterian Church Synod, who was invited by his counterpart Gerhard Brandt,was also a member of the delegation. The delegation held talks with Juergen Sudhoff, state secretary for foreign affairs in the FRG Government. At the talks, the two sides highly appreciated the relations between the two countries and their churches, and reviewed opportunities of further developing these relations. They also exchanged views on the issue of national minorities. The delegation paid a visit to Draberderhohe which is host to Saxons from Transylvania, as well as the Westdeutscher Rundfunk radio and television center in Cologne.

Grosz Receives U.S., Canadian Rabbi for Talks

LD1411215888 Budapest MTI in English 1440 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Grand Rabbi Moses Teitelbaum, president of the Central Orthodox Congress of the United States and Canada, in parliament building on Monday. As reported, Rabbi Teitelbaum arrived in Budapest on Monday. Also present at the cordial meeting was State Secretary Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Church Affairs.

Szuros Meets With Greek Foreign Minister

LD0512201988 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Athens, December 5 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, currently in Athens on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Communist Party of Greece, held a discussion Monday with Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs, and Stefanos Tzumakas, member and foreign affairs secretary of the Executive Committee of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK).

Mr Szuros presented to the Greek foreign minister the message of Karoly Grosz to Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and, in addition to reviewing inter-state relations, he appreciated the role of Greece in developing relations between Hungary and the European Economic Community. Mr Szuros and the foreign affairs secretary of PASOK discussed timely questions of international politics.

On Sunday the HSWP delegation attended the rally of the Crete Party Organization, where Matyas Szuros conveyed the greetings of the HSWP and pointed out that the long-standing, firm bases of the two parties' cooperation had continued to strengthen over the past decades when numerous Greek refugees found a new home in socialist Hungary following the civil war.

He pointed to the favourable development of the international situation, in which an important part was played—besides the new foreign political way of thinking of the socialist countries—by the will for peace of international public opinion, the world's progressive and democratic forces and the active peace policy of the international communist movement, including the Greek.

On Monday the HSWP delegation left Greece for Cyprus to meet the invitation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL).

Iranian Mines Minister Holds Talks

LD0212154288 Budapest MTI in English 1307 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 2, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The trade authorities of both countries agree that it would be desirable to boost this year's 150 million dollars' Hungarian exports to Iran to 200 million next year, and even above that amount later on. The present pattern, whereby Iranian crude oil is exchanged for various Hungarian goods, should be replaced by production cooperation arrangements, a pooling of know-how and the exchange of experts.

The Iranian minister of mines and metals, Mohammad Reza Ayatollahi, has already held talks in Budapest, and during his visit met HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz. (Mr Grosz himself visited Iran in October).

Soon, a Hungarian delegation plans to go to Iran to negotiate oil prices in the aftermath of the Vienna OPEC conference.

It has been agreed that Iran will buy 100,000 tonnes of alumina from Hungary as of 1989, and implementation of the agreements signed in October will be stepped up. The Iranian party promised to facilitate economic conditions to speed up the realization of tungsram projects in Iran, and also promote transelectro's power-plant construction projects by doing away with some of the taxes imposed on them.

The idea of processing Iranian bauxite using Hungarian methods has also been raised, and Hungarian companies may join in the reconstruction of an aluminium smelter in the town of Arak, or alternatively, the building of a smelter capable of putting out 70,000 tonnes of aluminium a year.

Hungary might become involved in the processing of Iranian iron, and Nikex is working on an offer for the processing of war wrecks. Feelers are also being put out about the construction by Hungarian companies of three wire and cable rolling mills, each with a capacity of 250 tonnes per year, and a ferro-manganese plant capable of putting out 15,000 tonnes annually.

Varkonyi Confers With Aquino in Manila

LD0212221188 Budapest MTI in English 1614 GMT 2 Dec 88

[text] Manila, December 2 (MTI)—On Friday, Mrs Corazon Aquino, President of the Republic of the Philippines, met Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, currently on an official visit to Manila.

Mrs Aquino said her country was ready for the continued improvement of relations. She followed with interest Mr Varkonyi's briefing on the political and economic reform endeavours going on in Hungary. Mr Varkonyi handed her a letter from Bruno F. Straub, in which the President of the Presidential Council invited the head of state of the Philippines on a visit to Hungary.

Previously, Mr Varkonyi and his host, Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus, had stated that the settled political links the two countries enjoyed provided a sound basis for economic cooperation. Hungary and the Philippines hold similar views on the most important international issues. The talks also covered peace in Southeast Asia and the Kampuchean situation. Mr Varkonyi pointed out that Hungary was prepared to expand relations with Asean members, including the Philippines. Feelers were put out about the two countries' opening representation offices in each other's capitals.

Mr Varkonyi and Jose Concepcion, minister of trade and industry, agreed in principle to set up a business council. The Hungarian foreign minister held talks on concrete opportunities for cooperation at the National Office of Economic Development and the Manila Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Vice-President Salvador Laurel hosted a dinner in honour of Mr Varkonyi. Mr Laurel said in his toast that he gave the development of relations between the Philippines and Eastern Europe his full encouragement and support, and disclosed plans for setting up a Filipino-Hungarian friendship society.

Permanent Representation in Seoul To Open Soon

LD0512193688 Budapest MTI in English 1644 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Seoul, December 5 (MTI)—Hungary's permanent representation in Seoul is to open in a few days, it was announced on Monday by Sandor Etre, head of the representation, at a press conference given in Korean.

Mr Etre said that after the opening of the mission he was to begin talks on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Republic of Korea. He expressed the conviction that the opening of the foreign mission would promote the development of bilateral relations, including economic, cultural and sports links. During the press conference, Mr Etre stressed the importance of signing the investment protection agreement of the two countries.

Sandor Etre graduated from the Kim Il-song University of Pyongyang in the 1950s. From 1979 to 1984 he was Hungarian ambassador to the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

Yugoslav Customs Officials Stopping Poles

LD0312221388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Yugoslav customs officials on the Dimitrovgrad crossing have refused to clear through customs today any Polish tourist who had more than one pair of jeans in his luggage. Explanations and pleas were to no avail. In fact a fist fight broke out. One of the bus drivers was beaten up as was a passenger who came to his defence. The two 'Juventur' buses from Nowy Sacz and Jelenia Gora returned to Sofia.

Private cars also turned back from the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border after their passengers refused to get rid of their Turkish-bought goods.

Minister Olechowski on Official Visit to Paris

Meets Mitterrand, Dumas

LD0112232188 Warsaw PAP in English 2056 GMT 1 Dec 88

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Dec. 1—The announcement of visits to Poland by President Francois Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas next year and plans to enliven the Polish-French dialogue were the outcome of the first day of the French visit by Polish diplomacy chief Tadeusz Olechowski.

On Thursday, the Polish foreign minister was received by President Mitterrand to whom he extended a message from President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski containing an invitation to pay an official visit to Poland. Francois Mitterrand accepted the invitation with pleasure and said he is ready to visit Poland in the second half of 1989. The date of the visit will be settled through diplomatic channels.

In an over one-hour talk, the French president and the Polish foreign minister discussed the current state of the Polish-French relations. The French world of politics, President Mitterrand said, is aware of the fact that in many areas Poland has outdistanced other East European countries on the road of reforms. He came out in favour of a clear enlivening and a "new impulse" to the Polish-French dialogue and cooperation between the two countries. France would like to tighten its relations with socialist states, also with Poland, in all areas, he declared. He also said he follows what is going on in Poland with special interest due to centuries-long traditional friendship.

Also today, Olechowski held talks with Foreign Minister Roland Dumas to discuss important international problems and bilateral relations. The talks, the spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry said, passed in a very cordial atmosphere.

The two ministers agreed that the time has come to enliven the Polish-French dialogue after a few years of stagnation. Following a motion of the Polish side, they decided to revive the tradition to hold annual meetings of heads of diplomacy of the two countries. Next year, Minister Dumas will pay a visit to Poland. Planned are also regular meetings of other ministers, including those of culture and education.

Both ministers attached great importance to the exchange of youth, young scientists, lawyers, managers. The French side declared its readiness to train Polish managers, in particular those dealing with banking in connection with the change of the Polish system of crediting.

They also decided to form working groups composed of specialists in such fields as environmental protection, health service, food and banking. There are plans to send to Poland shortly a French technical mission to examine possibilities to propagate in Poland one of the French TV programmes.

In the talks, attended by advisers and experts, the sides discussed the ways of increasing the French presence in Poland and vice versa. For example, there will be observances held in Poland of the 200th anniversary of the great French revolution and the centenary of General de Gaulle's birthday.

Meets With French Businessmen

LD0212235788 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Paris, Dec. 2—Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski met the authorities of the CNPF French employers' organization, the main organization grouping French owners of enterprises, today, on the last day of his visit.

The meeting, held at the CNPF headquarters, was attended by Chairman of the France-Poland committee at the CNPF Alexis Folkenstein, chairman of the Banque Francaise du Commerce Exterieur Michel Freyche, and director general of the Spie-Batignolles Building Concern, taking part in a tender for modernization of the Warsaw Okecie Airport, Claude Coppin.

In direct talks with Minister Olechowski, the French businessmen pointed to many existing possibilities of boosting economic and trade relations between the two countries. They also declared their readiness to join a French-Polish Chamber of Industry and Commerce, to be set up in the coming weeks.

Olechowski met also OECD Secretary General Jean Claude Paye to discuss possibilities of Poland's cooperation with this organization.

At a press conference at the Polish Embassy here Olechowski deemed his meeting with President Mitterrand the most important event of his visit. Olechowski recalled that he had conveyed an invitation from Wojciech Jaruzelski to President Mitterrand to pay an official visit to Poland.

The Frenchmen's interest was aroused by the draft laws on starting economic activity and on joint ventures with the share of foreign capital. Participants in the conference pointed to the need to boost economic cooperation between both countries and to gradually rebuild France's former high position in economic relations with Poland.

Olechowski met also Secretary of State for International Cultural Relations Thierry de Beauce to discuss the possibilities of developing cultural contacts between the two countries.

Olechowski also had a meeting with Political Bureau member and Secretary of the French Communist Party CC Gaston Plissonnier.

On Friday a meeting of Minister Olechowski with most active members of Polish communities here and the France-Pologne Society was held at the Polish Embassy here. On the same day, Olechowski met also representatives of French politicians and industrialists.

Visits UNESCO Director

LD0412101088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Paris—Tadeusz Olechowski, the minister of foreign affairs, has paid a visit to the headquarters of UNESCO, where he met its director Frederico Mayor Zaragoza and invited him to visit Poland next year.

Press Conference Reported

PM0512123688 Paris LE MONDE in French 4-5 Nov 88 p 4

["S.K." report on Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski 2 December press conference in Paris: "Polish Foreign Minister Visits France: Walesa Should Be Authorized To Visit Paris"]

[Text] Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski stated Friday 2 November at the end of his official visit to Paris his "personal belief" that Lech Walesa would be authorized to visit Paris 10 December at President Mitterrand's invitation. "In the climate as it is and as it was at the time of the invitation, yes, Mr Walesa will have his passport," the minister said at a press conference.

This shows how volatile the political situation is in Poland.... Mr Olechowski declined to say whether the decision to allow the Solidarity chairman to travel had already been reached or whether it was still being discussed. In Gdansk Walesa confirmed that he submitted a passport application a week ago.

Olechowski, the first Polish foreign minister to be received in Paris for 8 years, welcomed the fact that he had received assurances of a visit by Mr Mitterrand to Poland next year and of annual meetings between foreign ministers. This should permit the restoration of the dialogue between Paris and Warsaw, though Olechowski declared himself "somewhat jealous" that the president had given priority to his visits to other Eastern Bloc countries. The Polish foreign minister said that his country should be entitled to "certain preferences" in its relations with the EEC, to which Poland owes 65 percent of its debts. "If we are granted treatment at least no worse than that received by the GDR—which has become virtually the 13th member of the EEC—and by Hungary, then Poland is ready to sign an agreement with the EEC," Olechowski said, expressing regret at the great "cautiousness" of French investors compared to the West Germans or Italians.

Reaction to Miodowicz-Walesa TV Debate

Miodowicz on Debate, Future Talks

LD0212140588 Warsaw PAP in English 1250 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—"The meeting passed the test. First of all, it proceeded in the spirit of agreement and understanding, although each of us presented his reasons, defended them and did not depart from them," OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz told the SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily commenting on his TV debate with Lech Walesa.

"We did not indulge in verbal fight which would bring disgrace upon ourselves. It is, in the long run, the future of Polish trade unions which is the point here, and not who won more points today, " said Miodowicz.

"The idea of this meeting was rapproachment and not confrontation. As the host, I felt obliged to make my style in the debate conform to this. I was primarily concerned about making this debate the first and not the final one," said he when asked why his statements were not aggressive despite his known flair for polemics.

What should come next, asked the daily. Miodowicz replied: "Above all, we should continue the talks but not in the limelight. Secondly, the round table may provide a perfect chance for carrying on discussion on many problems which we raised with Mr Walesa but did not manage to discuss due to lack of time. For example, the issue of young Poles. Thirdly, we would like to use the courtesy of the television. I suggest that problems of working crews and their trade union representation be discussed twice a month, with participation of persons having various attitudes, concepts and experiences," concluded Miodowicz.

Opinions on Talks Reported

AU0612090988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 5

[PAP report: "About the Miodowicz-Walesa Debate"]

[Text] PAP has supplied reactions to Wednesday's Miodowicz-Walesa TV debate, which took place on the OPZZ chairman's initiative.

Dr Kazimierz Lojewski, chairman of the Supreme Legal Council: Regardless of its contents, I think the debate is becoming a symbol that illustrates Polish reality, just like looking through a lens. It annoys me that people considered it to be a match. It is certain that victory was won by the new concept of exercising authority which involves participation by all political and philosophical streams which, though containing elements of opposition, do not reject the legal-constitutional order outright. In this way, a fundamental condition for the proper existence of the state and people has emerged, a condition that determines social confidence. Without this social confidence, it is impossible to run the country.

I detected a large measure of courage and political imagination on both sides. The debate reflects the mood of today, whereby people are disappointed with the monolith of power and ideology, and are seeking new sources of progress in various different conceptions. It is not without reason that the Poles consider this monolith to be the source of the stagnation in every sphere of life.

I would like to believe that both interlocutors realize that one day, society will demand concrete facts not only of them, but also of every spokesman of every other social force. For pluralism is not an aim in itself, but a way of performing the tasks we have set for ourselves, using specified resources and accompanied by the reality of the world around us.

Father Witold Benedyktowicz, member of the Consultative Council and Methodist clergyman: I was pleased by the spontaneity of this debate and the absence of planning by studio staff, which is unusual in a program like this. I believe the debate has exposed a series of affairs and problems which we will have to consider over the coming years. It seems to me that the meeting between Alfred Miodowicz and Lech Walesa has commenced a dialogue that serves to overcome the difficulties affecting everyone.

However, I would like us to approach this Wednesday event with caution, so that our elation with this new form of political dialogue does not eclipse the social and economic reality. This remark also applies to the issues touched upon during the debate. For example, I think the word "pluralism" has become very fashionable. Many people attach various hopes to it, but without understanding what the word really means. I think we already have a large measure of pluralism, and the problem is what kind of structures to establish in order to make the best possible use of pluralism as a source of the social energy we need so much.

Professor Adam Bromke, political scientist and professor in the new Political Science Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences: I think that the debate between Messrs Walesa and Miodowicz is a real event. It shows the progress of pluralism in Poland, and that is certainly how it has been construed in the West. That is what the world has been waiting for. Conversations like this before the eyes of millions of people are the most credible conversations of all. A live transmission of a debate between two people who are regarded as adversaries and who profess different interests increases Poland's prestige. I consider this talk to be the start of a qualitatively new stage in Polish life. I listened to it with interest. One could see that both sides were ready to seek joint solutions. I have spent most of my life in the West, and I can tell you that this kind of television debate will certainly cause a positive echo throughout the wide world.

Debate: 'Further Important Step'

AU0512133088 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 2

[Commentary signed "BERM": "A Further Important Step"]

[Text] The televised meeting between A. Miodowicz and L. Walesa, the debate that took place on the initiative of the chairman of the OPZZ, certainly should be and will be assessed in terms of two aspects not only in Poland, but also in the rest of the world. The first is that what we are witnessing now are talks between partners who wish to solve general social problems instead of confrontation and a return to the old animosities. The second is that of the process of introducing pluralism into political life, the creation of a new political culture, and a receptivity to all currents and proposals that do not violate the constitutional order and the fundamental principles according to which the state operates.

The first aspect of this exchange of views, which was watched by many millions of viewers, will certainly promote more comment and a variety of evaluations to the effect that open, public debate does not have a rich tradition in Polish political life. However, from the viewpoint of the continuity of the political processes that are currently taking place and political and economic democratization, the second aspect seems to be the more important. This is not just because until only recently a Miodowicz-Walesa meeting, not just one in front of television cameras, would probably not have taken place. What is more important is the fact that in developing various means for representatives of society to voice different positions, views, and world outlooks and creating a system of institutions that allows various groups to participate in public life, we have reached a stage in which they can jointly think about ways of overcoming obstacles and barriers and divisions going back many years without take steps to insure themselves against failure.

The Miodowicz-Walesa meeting was a further important step in this process, which affirmed a feeling of respect for a partner in dialogue and has increased the possibility of a "roundtable" taking place with the participation of others, who will doubtless contribute their different points of view and will enrich and add to the tapestry of Polish political life. The television debate affirmed the thesis that what we need in order to solve today's key problems is the desire to do so on all sides, and it showed that there is a possibility that the necessary accord and compromise can be attained.

Compromise assumes that there is a divergence of initial positions and assessments and that there is a need to bring them into harmony and to achieve results that would satisfy the expectations of all the partners involved. The yardstick that can be applied to gauge the level of success is the well-being of the people, the standard of living, the individual's sense of self-fulfillment, and the strength of the economy. This is precisely what the participants in Wednesday's debate spoke about. Today, the resolution of Poland's key problems calls for the smoothing out of differences and overcoming animosity and divisions, because what we have to count on first and foremost are our own powers and the potential that exists in society and in the economy seen as one indivisible whole.

Of course, pluralism is not a cure for every ill. However, the full involvement in public life of the groups that respect the legal order and Poland's reasons of state is incontestable proof of normality and contradicts the belief, which still lingers on here and there, that Poland is in some sense "the sick man of Europe." That is why the Miodowicz-Walesa meeting should be considered a further stage on the path to stabilization and proof of the practical application of the principles of a new political culture.

What happens now is as important as the fact that the meeting took place. To maintain the reform processes initiated by the party over the last few years, it is important to sustain and continue a broad public dialogue in order to exploit all constructive and realistic initiatives and opportunities.

Debate: 'Worth Attention'

AU0512160088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 5

[Untitled commentary by Zenon Kulej]

[Text] We can see that the conversation between Alfred Miodowicz and Lech Walesa touched upon issues that are fundamental to Poland, its future, and the process of accord, as well as problems of a more intricate nature. They spoke about matters stemming from national interests and the needs of social groups.

From this debate one can detect concern over how to improve daily life, safeguard social calm, implement the ideas inherent in the slogan "roundtable," and meet the challenge of history. Understandably, the two interlocutors represented different views and evaluations.

The conversation was unable to solve all our problems immediately. That was probably not its purpose. However, and I think this is of cardinal importance, it showed that the paths of changes in Poland's political system and economy that were initiated at the most recent sessions of the party Central Committee are correct.

The problems touched upon in the debate between Alfred Miodowicz and Lech Walesa deserve attention and broad discussion. We will return to them many times.

Opinion Poll on Talks

AU0512155588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 5

[PAP report: "Public Opinion Poll"]

[Text] The day after the television debate between Alfred Miodowicz and Lech Walesa, the Public Opinion Research Center carried out an opinion poll involving 300 Warsaw residents above the age of 15. According to the poll, there was very much interest in the debate. Some 78 percent of the respondents had watched it on TV.

The opinions of viewers may be summarized as follows: The debate was very necessary, for it increased the chances of an accord between the authorities and the opposition. Asked whether it was good that the debate had taken place, 97 percent of the respondents replied in the affirmative. Generally speaking, the TV debate has aroused optimism as to the possibility of an accord between the authorities and the opposition. Answers to a question about this possibility were as follows: Some 18 percent said that the debate was a breakthrough on the road to an accord. Most of the respondents, 61 percent, said it was a small step that permits certain hopes, 17 percent said that it illustrated each side's inability to communicate with the other side, and 4 percent had no comment to make.

Results of Polls on Rakowski, Government Noted

AU0212131188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Center for Public Opinion Research: "After the Premiere: Mieczyslaw Rakowski's Government"]

[Text] The new government has completed its 1-month long premiere. The results of a nationwide opinion poll conducted on 13 November indicate that Premier

Rakowski can expect to get a round of applause for his performance over the last few weeks. That is how I interpret the marked improvement in the public mood, and it is something that I am pleased to be able to report, because I have become rather fed up with performing the role of Cassandra, that is, with having to repeat the same ominous reports.

It comes as a great relief to be able to say that the government has won the confidence of 74 percent of the adult population over a very short period of time. This was the percentage of the sample which said that Rakowski and the ministers he has chosen are serving society well and acting in accordance with its interests. In August, which was not that long ago, only one in three citizens said that they had confidence in the previous government team. We have now witnessed an unprecedented 40-percent increase!

Compared with September, people have become much more optimistic in their assessments of the political and economic state of the country. The number of people who think that the country is in a bad state politically has dropped by 20 percent (from 57 to 37 percent). There are still very few optimists when it comes to the economy, a few percent, but their number is rapidly increasing. At the same time, there has been a 6 percent drop in the number of pessimists. People are beginning to take a more confident view of the future and they are acquiring more hope: The number of optimists has almost doubled and every third respondent thought that the economic situation would improve over the next 2 years. Pessimists accounted for 32 percent of the sample, but a month later they only comprised 18 percent. Only 9 percent of those polled thought that the political situation would deteriorate. (28 percent said that it would improve and 44 percent said that it would remain the same).

We remember that the press published the "State of the Country on 13 November 1988" at the same time as the premier's Sejm address. However, the section dealing with society did not describe the public mood, which, despite its subjective nature, determines the extent to which people are ready to do something, their willingness to expend a lot of effort, and impacts on the whole motivation sphere. We know that people are the ones who decide, that they do so with their minds and hearts. The results of many different opinion polls conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research showed that the public mood had hit rock bottom in the fall of last year and had remained there. The polls also indicated that there had been an alarming increase in the dissatisfaction felt by a frustrated society. M. Rakowski always read what was produced by the Center for Public Opinion Research very carefully. He was always aware of the obstacles that had to be surmounted, realized what was being done, and sensed the growing mood of tension very clearly. In short, there are few people who have such a good idea of what people are thinking, what they expect, and what they are criticizing. The priorities that the government has set itself are the best possible proof of this.

The mood in September was one of despondency: Only 0.4 percent of those polled were ready to give the economy a good grade, and only 6 percent had a positive view of the political situation.

The August strike conflict made people more pessimistic in their political and economic predictions. Asked to assess the mood in their communities, people responded that the overall mood was one of fear, fear of what might happen, profound frustration, dissatisfaction, and a tendency to believe that no improvement was possible. Confidence in the authorities was declining and doubts were being increasingly expressed about the abilities of the people occupying leading posts. It was widely believed that the anticrisis measures that had been taken were ineffective.

The final passage of the August report prepared by the Center for Public Opinion Research reads as follows: "For the first time in 3 years more than half of those polled expressed disapproval of the actions of the government. This has been accompanied by a decline in the standing of politicians in the public eye. Less support is expressed for their actions, and they have become less popular. This particularly applies to the premier, who was criticized and disliked by more than 40 percent of those polled. More people say that they know the names of vice premiers, but this is linked to a growing dislike of them. So, we can conclude that as a result of the current tense situation, there has been a dramatic upsurge in the number of people who are dissatisfied and public criticism of the system of government and those in government is growing."

The results of the opinion polls that were conducted showed quite clearly that people considered the standard of living and the state of the national economy to be the main reasons behind the August wave of strikes. The authorities and their policies were blamed for this. Although it was widely realized that the strikes had caused enormous losses, they were considered the only possible way of expressing dissatisfaction with the economic results produced by ineffective policies. In light of this situation, by September, two-thirds of the public were in favor of the government resigning. We conducted our first poll on initial reactions to Mieczyslaw Rakowski's appointment as premier in Warsaw. The citizens of Warsaw expressed a variety of views. Support was expressed for the goals, aims, and reform-oriented intentions. However, caution and scepticism was expressed about the likelihood of these things really being achieved. The premier's Sejm statement was received very well. The overwhelming majority accepted the economic priorities that the government had set itself. It was predicted that society would react positively to the tough reform rules as an essential condition for improving the situation.

We then conducted a poll of a representative sample of socialized economy employees, and we asked them which problems the government should tackle first of all. The most frequent problems were: getting out of the crisis, setting the economy in order, the supply of consumer goods, housing, the standard of living, price stability, bringing inflation under control, measures that would boost agricultural output, and peace, security, and order in the country. In fact, every respondent mentioned some economic issues as meriting the government's immediate attention, and every second respondent pointed to some social issue, especially those associated with living standards. Every sixth respondent deemed political issues to be the most important.

It turned out that the list of social expectations was convergent with the government's scale of priorities: agriculture, the food processing industry, housing, the protection of the environment, and production that would meet families' basic needs. These issues were widely considered the most important and the most pressing.

The opinions gathered in the latest poll (13 November) of the adult Polish population gave the Rakowski government good grades.

Of the 1,500 persons questioned, almost half noted substantial differences between the former government team and the present one (23 percent did not notice any differences and 27 percent did not know), especially in the way in which decisions are made.

According to those polled, the way in which the new government is different is most apparent in its flexibility, and pragmatism. The government's efficiency, energy, consistency, realism, and resolve are valued.

People were pleased at the decision to close down unprofitable enterprises. A majority (58 percent) approved of the most controversial issue, that is, the closure of the Gdansk shipyard (disapproval was expressed by 26 percent). More than three-quarters of respondents considered the decisions about the future of the "Siechnice" plant and the coal-mining corporations to be right. There is extensive public support for consistent government action of this kind, with 85 percent of respondents expressing support for such decisions and asserting that few people would be prepared to defend bankrupt enterprises.

Some 76 percent of respondents said that the new government is a pro-reformist one; 72.5 percent said that it is ready to fight attempts to undermine the system, 70 percent said that it is abolishing rules and regulations that contradict common sense, 63 percent said that it is determined and consistent in action, 49 percent said that it will reach its decisions independently, and 37 percent said that it takes public opinion into consideration.

Here are a few typical replies: The new government is bolder, one can already see certain moves, whereas the old one could never decide on anything except endless talks; although these are still early days, one can already say that the new government is definitely tougher in making decisions; this new government is doing more and talking less, it is even making unpopular decisions; the new government has imposed an iron regime on the administration; it is more concrete in action, and harbors less scruples; it implements whatever it has planned slowly but surely; this government is not just talking, it is actually doing something; the government is more open to society and has already brought about a lot, such as visible dialogue and changes in rules governing the functioning of the economy, and it speaks to society in a different language; something has started to happen at last, and the new economic legislation permit hopes that the economy will move forward.

The new government's image is clearly identified with M. Rakowski's person. Most respondents (72 percent of people employed in the state sector) said that he is an intelligent and educated man, 72 percent also said that he is a determined aktivist, 68 percent said that he is a good politician, 61 percent said that he is a firm supporter of the economic and political reforms, 58 percent said that he is a man of sound thinking, 46 percent believed he enjoys good relationships in the East and in the West, 45 percent said that he is an avowed supporter of dialogue and accord, and 42 percent said he is in favor of profound changes in socialism.

I have selected a few typical views: The new premier has started work with a vengeance; he publicly calls the government to account for its actions; I like this method of governing and exercising authority; he has approached economic reform boldly, as illustrated by the closure of the Gdansk shipyard; Rakowski is not afraid, he moves around freely; as the son of a peasant, he has a better understanding of what is happening in Poland; he is well-known from television, from which it is clear that he can look after himself, and will certainly cope with the new government; he chose the ministers he wanted.

Some 35 percent of state employees were pleased with Rakowski's election (another 35 percent had no comment). Now the number of his supporters has increased, and considerably, too. As much as 70 percent of the adult population have declared their trust in him, and 49.5 percent like him. But just like every other premier, Rakowski also has opponents. Some 18 percent of respondents disliked him, 13 percent said they do not trust him, and 4 percent made themselves out to be his firm enemies.

Even those doubtful about Rakowski admit that he has character. He knows what he wants, and is determined to get it. Society needs people like this. People have had enough of mediocre persons, faceless opportunists, and careerists rejected by the state apparatus. Rakowski knows that he has to be firm if he wants to succeed in his work and maintain society's support.

After Rakowski's first month, one can say that the government already holds a sufficiently strong position in order to implement its plans, and no longer has to fear blackmail in the form of a lack of social support or a deterioration in the political situation. Rakowski can certainly sit down at any meeting, at any table, whatever its shape, at home and abroad. And that is a lot.

Rakowski Interviewed by Soviet Paper

For the text of the interview, whose date is not given, with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, premier and chairman of the Council of Ministers, in Warsaw by Moscow NEDELYA's own special correspondent Andrey Malgin, see the International Affairs section, East Europe subsection, of the 2 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Comparisons of Speeches at Lodz OPZZ Meeting

Rakowski Speech

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 28 November on page 5 carries the "Speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski" at the Third OPZZ Conference in Lodz on 27 November. The TRYBUNA LUDU report has been compared with the Warsaw Domestic Service Polish version published in the 28 November DAILY REPORT, page 39, revealing the following variations:

Column one, paragraph one, second sentence reads in TRYBUNA LUDU: ...my views about the situation of our country and the tasks which the government... (clarifying indistinct words)

Same column, paragraph two, sentence three reads: ...support for the class trade union movement... (clarifying indistinct word)

Same column, paragraph four, third and fourth sentences read: That is understandable. I want to say that I did not expect an idyll, and I do not want one. I am convinced,... (supplying indistinct words)

Page 41, column one, third full paragraph, sentences five through six read: ...I know well. In any case, I wish to... (supplying press version)

Page 42, column one, first full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...of this profit through an increase... (deleting editorial notation)

Same column, second full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...The so-called setting-up fund, managed by the state treasury, will be separate, as will be the enterprise fund, which includes that part of the assets which will be created as a result of the enterprises's activities, from resources which have been earned by this enterprise. (rephrasing)

Page 43, column two, third full paragraph, last sentence, and paragraph four, first sentence read: ...worst wages policy consists of automatic, equal, or nearly equal wage increases.

The government... (rephrasing)

Jaruzelski Speech

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 28 November on page 3 carries the speech by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Third OPZZ Conference in Lodz on 27 November. The TRYBUNA LUDU report has been compared with the Warsaw Domestic Service version published in the 28 November East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 35, revealing the following variations:

Page 36, column one, paragraph three, sentence two in TRYBUNA LUDU reads: ...which he functions, remembers that he... (deleting words)

Same column, paragraph four, last sentence reads: ...none of these characteristics are found to... (confirming indistinct word)

Page 37, column one, first full paragraph, first sentence reads: ...said loudly and clearly in this hall... (supplying indistinct word)

Same column, fourth full pargraph, sentence five reads: ...hope that the fruitlessness of the everything-or-nothing... (supplying indistinct word)

Miodowicz Answers Questions at News Conference

LD2911025088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now a report announced earlier from a news conference of the OPZZ leadership. The first to speak was Franciszek Ciemny, OPZZ press spokesman. [passage omitted] After this statement Alfred Miodowicz answered journalists' questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] Slawomir Sobieski from the television news bulletin.

[Sobieski] Can one say, after the Third OPZZ Assembly, that the enterprise unions, particularly enterprise trade union organizations, are prepared to work in the new conditions? My question concerns the acceleration of the economy and the effects of this acceleration.

[Miodowicz] We do not fully know the rules of the game and we do not know what the acceleration of the economy means. If the acceleration of the economy is to be based only on liquidation of enterprises, I must say that we are not prepared for that. For the time being, we know what is contained in the slogans and the intentions—this is called a plan for economic consolidation. However, without knowing the instruments it is difficult to express our opinions about this. We have had a sad lesson after the guidelines of Professor Sadowski. The aims contained in those guidelines, which were presenteed last March, were in fact correct. Although they were not totally disastrous, a very important part of them were disastrous: the prices and incomes policy.

[Unidentified voice] Boguslaw Turek, UPI.

[Turek] Have all the technical problems concerning the television debate with Mr Walesa been resolved, and can you say already today whether this debate will take place?

[Miodowicz] On principle there are no technical details whatsoever. Let me remind you that this debate is to take place on my initiative. The initiative was put forward on 15 November during a private conversation watched by millions television views [as heard]. This is to be a conversation between two people: between an electrician and a heater operator who have something to say to these people, provided they will have something to say. [as heard]

[Unidentified voice] Both Premier Rakowski and yourself mentioned a need for a new social accord. Could you say something more on this subject? Would this social accord replace the accord of 1980?

[Miodowicz] In a sense. Anyway, such a social accord whould be based on several pillars. One of these pillars should be agreements signed in August and September in Szczecin, Gdansk, and Jastrzebie [1980]

[Unidentified voice] Ryszard (?Biskup), [word indistinct] Kielce.

[?Biskup] In the report from a meeting held in St. Brygida Church in Gdansk yesterday, Walesa said you are afraid to hold a meeting with him and he called the assembly in Lodz a 'circus.' Can you comment on this statement?

[Miodowicz] I think we should never make such fierce movements before a fight, but we should prepare for this conversation with calm. Who is afraid is afraid. I would not put forward such an initiative if I did not think that both myself and Mr Walesa have something to say to this society.

[Biskup] Another question: Nevertheless, 10 delegates did not give the OPZZ Executive Committee a vote of confidence. Two hundred and thirty-seven abstained. That is approximately 25 percent of assembly delegates. I want to ask what actions the OPZZ will undertake in the forthcoming period to strengthen its authority, to win over other people to themselves in a more decided way—those who place great hopes in this structure.

[Miodowicz] Thank you very much, Mr Editor, for saying that there are those who place great hopes in this. Really, there are many such people who are counting on these trade unions. In such a political landscape, such a result is splendid. However, it is a warning to us that we must nevertheless more carefully attend not so much to the propagation of our work but to its programming, talking about it, putting forward slogans—for example, the slogan concerning people without apartments. Maybe we should finally do something on this matter. So, fewer slogans, fewer programs, fewer tasks, greater concentration and greater executive action on our part, not in the institutionalized sense, but in the sense of implementing what we are talking about here, let's say, in our own circle, in the executive committee and in the council.

[Unidentified voice] Jacek (Waldrowski?), Interpress.

[Waldrowski] Mr Chairman, during the Lodz deliberations, fear and concern was expressed concerning the fate of the workplace and the fate of people who are being dismissed from liquidated enterprises. What sort of measures will the OPZZ employ to protect these people?

[Miodowicz] Well, it so happens that I have some experience in this matter, not because I have been thrown out of the Lenin Steelworks, because it is [word indistinct] to talk about work restrictions in certain raw material departments in which I happened to be working. However, this is because on the initiative of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions, the first work enterprise in our country was closed at the time, 3 years ago.

It was the (?Concordia) coking plant in Zabrze [Silesia]. It was a small plant with only 300 employees. Because it happened on the initiative of trade unions, we attempted, (?together) with the chairman of that federation, to distribute those people, if one may say so. In Zabrze, which suffered an acute personnel shortage, it was a tragic matter. Well, it is not true that it is enough to have vacancies to please the people who have been sacked from their jobs in the liquidated enterprises. For these people it is a tragedy. Actually using the system we moved every Nowak, Kowalski, and Zielinski. Some of them took early retirement, some were transferred to other work, and some were paid compensation. For this reason we must have an efficiently functioning system. I went to the Gdansk shipyard to purposefully acquaint myself with the situation of the working people there. I talked with those who will probably face this situation. I know there are about 700 people there who have been moved from their jobs because of occupational diseases, who are in fact getting their previous wages but are holding different jobs. I know there are about 900 people there who are over 50. These people must be dealt with individually. No office, nor voivodship, can sort it out. I am afraid that Mrs Krol, the government plenipotentiary, will not sort it out, either. We must have a system. For this reason on 9 November we submitted a concept and detailed proposals for system solutions. Unfortunately, we have not had a reply to it. We do have a plenipotentiary for these matters. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Socialist Economy's Viability Doubted

AU2511145288 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 6 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Stefan Kurowski by Witold Gadomski: "Between Explosion and Breakdown"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Gadomski] Is it possible to make Polish reforms successful?

[Kurowski] We have to distinguish two issues: Achieving a certain state of the functioning of the economy, and the process by which this state is achieved. It is theoretically possible to work out models of these issues. The first model consists of the desirable system by which the economy functions. There is nothing new about that model, which I think should imitate the economies of the capitalist-market countries. The market must have everything—consumables, capital goods, and transactions in capital. Currency should be convertible, and the state should not monopolize foreign trade. This is not like discovering America. However, drawing up a program for switching over from the present state of the economy to that certain state is a more difficult intellectual task. The program represents precisely the sought-after reform, because the meaning of the reform is a change in the system that makes it possible to preserve the basic elements existing before the reform. This change does not involve a replacement of the old system by a new one, but a measure meant to improve the present system, which should retain its identity. If we designate the market economy as that certain desirable state of the functioning of the economy, then we must realize that changes aimed at achieving the market economy must be more than mere reforms. They must involve a complete switch from the present system of the centrally planned economy based on the state ownership of production assets, to the economy in which many units own their production equipment and in which the free market is free to operate. [passage omitted]

[Gadomski] Is it possible to plan the market system from above?

[Kurowski] It is only socialism which can be planned and introduced from above. This can be done between a Tuesday and a Friday, so to speak. But the reverse process—from real socialism and the market-private economy—cannot be achieved in this way, because the transition from the market-private economy to the centrally planned economy is a transition from a complicated to a simple system and is therefore easy and involves no more than the destruction of differences. This is like an organic death, which amounts to changing the complicated structures of life into a system of simple structures. But the reverse process amounts to creating life. Since life must grow naturally, it is impossible to create it artificially, just as it is impossible to summon and appoint entrepreneurs. It is possible to draw up a theoretical program for such a transition, but its realization will be difficult and will encounter sociopolitical obstacles, even if the present political leadership would agree to such changes.

[Gadomski] Who might be interested in such changes? I doubt whether workers, clerks, and even present-day entrepreneurs, who benefit by the bad market, would be interested.

[Kurowski] This is a very good question. It is possible that at the moment we cannot speak of a massive yearning for the market economy, although everyone dreams of a good market. Still, certain segments of the population are aware of their economic interests and link them precisely to market principles. This is certainly so in the case of most private farmers, artisans, and private entrepreneurs, who expect that the market economy will abolish the political and economic discrimination in the PPR. Also those young people who have begun "working on their own" and have tasted economic freedom and the risks it involves are in favor of market revolution. Actually, all the people should be interested in market revolution, because the market economy is more effective, and that is why all the people would benefit by those changes, although perhaps a majority of them are not aware of this fact.

Economic policy can assist the reform and enlist people's good will toward it, but the authorities are still following the economic policy that maintains the economic burdens imposed on the people and that even increased these burdens last year. Although it would require modest efforts, the authorities are doing nothing to reduce in certain sectors the hardships created for the people by the present economic situation. The PPR governing team refuses to give up their economic policy, which is old some decades and to which society's needs are contemptuously marginal. [passage omitted]

[Gadomski] However, if economic policy is not radically changed, can we at least hope that the crisis will be overcome? There exists a hypothesis that two solutions are possible to a prolonged crisis: an explosion or a breakdown. A breakdown seems more probable now, but is it possible that in a country situated in the center of Europe an economic collapse can go on and on?

[Kurowski] Organized forces of society, which are independent of those in power, may counter the process of collapse (passage deleted in accordance with the law on the control of publications and public performances of 31 July 1981, Article 2, Items 2 and 3, THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE Issue 20, Position 99; and Issue 44, Position 204 of 1983) [this censorship formulation will henceforth be referred to as "passage deleted by censor"] That is why we continue to say that economic collapse is still probable. By saying that Poland is situated in the center of Europe, you seem to suggest that Europe will do something to rescue us from collapse. You assume that in view of such a development, we may fear or hope that some external action will be taken. Perhaps that is the only way to put an end to the inertia of the system that exists through the weakness of its external environment and not through its own strength. [passage omitted]

[Gadomski] What can become an external influence that is able to halt the process of collapse?

[Kurowski] That process amounts to an economic regression and to a general regression in civilization. Let us not use the word intervention for external influence because of its special meaning. Let us use words such as external incentive or influence. We must realize that all political setups, including states, are subjected to external influence. For example, what we can now see taking place in the USSR under the name of perestroyka is a result of the external influence by the capitalist states. This is not military influence. It is a result of the very existence of the states at large, over which the USSR has no control. The capitalist, the market economies have developed tremendously, and as a result of this unprecedented development, combined with yet another scientific-technological revolution, the USSR has found itself in the situation of a backward country. It has always been a rather backward country, but the present situation has become much more harassing. The countries at large did not act consciously against the USSR. The capitalist countries have their own strategy, but the very fact that they have achieved such tremendous development has induced the Soviet leadership to decide that changes in the Soviet economic, social, and political system are absolutely necessary. This is an example of external influence, one which has upset stabilization (people in the USSR talk about years of stagnation) to date and has switched domestic policy to new tracks. We can imagine that a similar situation may occur in Poland. On the one hand, we have Western Europe that continues to integrate itself and to become an ever bigger economic power. On the other hand, we have the bloc of the socialist countries, which continue to develop along lines different from the Western lines. The distance in civilization between Western Europe, especially Germany and France, on the one hand, and Poland, on the other, continues to increase almost by the hour.

Actually, that kind of external influence is already at work. The West's influence on our economy is acquiring the form of the increasing stream of dollars, which continue to flow into our country through private channels and to dynamize our economic life in their own way. [passage omitted]

[Gadomski] Do you think that the results of our debts and their influence on our economic crisis are being exaggerated by our people?

[Kurowski] Not at all. On the contrary, I think that we are generally unaware of those results, which are very serious. Our debts reduce our distributable national income by 4 percent, but the government is unable to cope with our debts or to negotiate better repayment conditions. That is why it continues to follow the policy that Minister Kisiel defined years ago like this: "We will spit blood and repay." Such a policy is a royal road to economic ruin, that is, it denudes the country of goods, causes inflation, and is unable to stop debts from increasing. [passage omitted]

[Gadomski] What about the development of the situation up to the year 2000?

[Kurowski] Only 12 years separate us from the year 2000. Our situation 12 years ago, in 1976, was about the same as now, and that is why we may assume that our situation in the year 2000 will also be as it is now. The premier will be over 50 or 60 years old, everyone will be older, a new generation will grow up, perhaps a new imported type of cars will appear on our roads, and the production of coal will certainly have shrunk. This forecast is a simple transposition of our present situation, but it is a very unpleasant forecast, because various changes will occur for the worse. The process of social degradation will continue, there will be disinvestment of fixed assets, and people will work even less efficiently, because they will lack incentives.

However, we can also make another forecast, one which is more optimistic. If momentous changes were carried out, we could witness an explosion of social energy and not its atrophy.

[Gadomski] How profound must these changes be?

[Kurowski] [Passage deleted by censor] If that process is controlled in the way the processes in an nuclear reactor are controlled, and not by way of sociotechnical manipulation, up to the year 2000 a radical change in the level of productivity may materialize, and this would make it possible for us to make an enormous leap in civilization. I think that the slogans that were formulated in connection with certain dreams such as, for example, the construction of the second Poland or the second Japan had some justification because of Poland's potential resources. For example, Poland possesses a population which is relatively well educated at about the European level. The examples of Korea or Spain show that their achievements could be possible in our country. With the aforementioned potentials we could become a second South Korea, if not a second Japan, in the next 12 years.

Commentator Views Latest Trade Figures

PM2811093488 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Nov 88 pp 1, 5

[Henryk Nykiel commentary: "Cautious Optimism: Exports Up, But Could Be Better"]

[Text] At the beginning of this year there cannot have been too many people expecting to see our foreign trade turnover index reaching two figures. But that is what happened. After the first 3 quarters of the year, the outlook is highly optimistic. If we manage to maintain the current rate of export sales—which is to be expected, since the final months of the year usually bring increased deliveries—we can be assured of a number of record results.

Over the next few years our economy could certainly do with similar dramatic increases in export figures. Unfortunately they do not seem very likely. Industry has virtually exhausted its direct reserves. Without new investment and radical modernization of the production apparatus, it will be unable to extend in any significant way its range of exportable goods offered.

Trade exchange with the so-called second payments area has grown much faster this year than trade exchange with the socialist countries. The value of goods and services sold in free currency markets during the first 3 quarters of this year totaled $5.908 billion, that is, 21.7 percent more than the value of goods and services sold during the same period last year. Imports have increased by 24 percent and reached $4.892 billion. Our trade exchange balance for the first 9 months of this year shows a credit of $1.016 billion, $105 million more than a year ago. This year's levels of exports and imports are definitely higher than planned. Last year sales to free currency markets for the first time exceeded $7 billion. This year they will exceed that sum by another $1 billion, which should indeed be regarded as a considerable achievement.

Proportions Reversed

The highest export growth figures for the first 3 quarters of the year were achieved in the metallurgical industry (51 percent), the chemical industry (30 percent), and the electrical and engineering industry (26 percent). Exports from the electrical and engineering industry form a significant proportion of total exports to the first payments area, and recently they have also become a considerable factor in the increased value of our exports to the West. We plan to sell more than 2 billion dollars' worth of products of the electrical and engineering industry to Western markets this year.

This year our trade turnover with the socialist countries, in which we settle our accounts in rubles, has seen a distinct reversal of proportions between exports and imports. Export sales have been growing much faster than imports. The value of the former for the first 3 quarters of the year totaled R8.434 billion and represented an increase of 11.5 percent over the value of exports in the same period last year. On the other hand imports have grown by only 1.3 percent. As a result, we have had a trade turnover surplus of R575 million, whereas last year the first 9 months of the year brought a negative turnover balance of R190 million. There were delays in the realization of plans, regarding both import and export agreements. This occurred even in trade exchange dealings with the Soviet Union, our biggest trading partner. The marked decrease in the rate of trade turnover with the first payments area was partly the result of the fall in average import prices, although of course there are a number of other serious underlying reasons for it.

On a nationwide scale, Katowice voivodship traditionally figures high on the exporters' list, although it must be said that in recent years its share of the value of our exports has somewhat decreased. Last year that region brought in 22.8 percent of the value of Polish exports. Given the fact that the reserve of coal set aside for export has been repeatedly curtailed—with the level of the voivodship's export capacity still determined by the value of the coal it can sell—it is difficult to reach any significant increase in foreign sales each year, although many enterprises and factories have been producing considerably more goods designed for foreign markets. The situation is no different this year.

To quote an example, the Zabrze steelworks, which specializes in the manufacture of machines and equipment for the ferrometallurgical industry, sold Z1.9 billions' worth of goods and services abroad in the first 3 quarters of the year, thus exceeding its overall annual plan by 2 percent and, in the case of the second payments area, by as much as 67 percent. By the end of the year the estimated value of its exports will total some Z2.5 billion, that is, about Z600 million more than originally planned and Z800 million more than last year. This was all possible because during the year the steelworks had many new contracts from foreign customers, including contracts for the supply of steelworks equipment to the United States and Italy and metallurgical and coking plant to Czechoslovakia. Next year the steelworks intends to increase its exports to some Z4 billion and in 3-4 years' time exports will constitute about 50 percent of the value of all its sales.

High Sales Increases

All foreign trade companies and enterprises in Katowice region have also registered much better export results than a year ago. For example, over the first 3 quarters of this year sales by the KOPEX foreign trade company to the first payments area grew by as much as 31 percent (in fixed prices), totaling R264 million. Exports increased in our trade with all socialist countries except Hungary. KOPEX specializes mainly in supplying mining plant and equipment, and its sales of such equipment have increased most rapidly. The Soviet Union is KOPEX's largest customer in the first payments area. During the first 3 quarters of the year 15 longwall mining systems were delivered there, and by the end of the year they will be followed by another 8. For next year the Soviet partner has ordered more than 20 longwall mining systems.

According to Karol Legierski, KOPEX deputy sales director, the value of KOPEX's exports to free currency markets during the first 3 quarters of the year totaled $68.1 million, of which about one-fourth represented specialized services. China remains KOPEX's largest customer in the second payments area. Moreover, KOPEX intends to continue increasing its sales to the first payments area next year. At the same time it has intensified canvassing for orders from free currency markets, which is not easy, however, because of the current market slump and growing competition. There are some hopes of new openings in the British, Spanish, and U.S. markets—particularly the last two. Together with a U.S. contractor, KOPEX is currently working on a longwall system designed to work shallow seams and short coalfaces. Provided it does well in tests, it can be exported to western markets, in particular to the United States and Australia. The company also seeks orders for mining services.

The CENTROZAP foreign trade company fulfilled 81.3 percent of its planned annual trade turnover in the first 3 quarters of the year. Sales to the first payments area went up (in comparable prices) by 45.1 percent, and to the second payments area by 34.7 percent. There has been particularly vigorous trade in the electrical and engineering industry's products. In addition to long-term contracts for the supply and construction of such industrial facilities as, for example, the graphite electrode manufacturing plant at Bitterfeld in the GDR or the "2000" continuous rolling mill at Magnitogorsk, the increasingly numerous small contracts signed by the company with trading partners from both the socialist and the western countries are of considerable importance in augmenting the level of CENTROZAP's exports.

According to Teodor Orlinski, CENTROZAP sales director, projections for the next few years are favorable. Next year the company plans to further increase its exports both to the first and second payments areas. As the relevant contracts are well under way, these plans seem certain to be fulfilled. The company recently signed major exports contracts with customers from the CSSR, Bulgaria, and the USSR.

Coal exports have remained more or less at last year's levels. Over the first 3 quarters of the year the WEGLOKOKS foreign trade company sold 23,676,000 tonnes abroad, including 13,172,000 tonnes to the second payments area, that is, slightly less than over the same period last year.

What Next?

The good results in our foreign trade—especially as regards exports to the second payments area—which we have now enjoyed for the second year running are largely the outcome of institutional solutions which have made production of goods for export increasingly attractive for our manufacturers. For several years now export sales have grown faster than output sales. During the first 3 quarters of this year our total exports increased by 13 percent, while output grew by only 5.9 percent. This means that higher sales abroad are achieved at the expense of reduced supply of investment goods, materials, and marketables for domestic consumers. We are unlikely to be able to maintain this state of affairs for much longer. Unfortunately the hard currency requirements of our economy make it imperative that our foreign sales index continue at a two-figure rate, especially as regards sales to the second payments area. This is not very realistic unless we significantly increase production and continuously expand our export range. As I have mentioned already, the industry has no more direct reserves. New investments, modernization, and wide application of new technological solutions are simply essential. Otherwise we will have to continue forever dividing the same quota for export and for the domestic market. Consequently we now need solutions which would encourage enterprises and factories not only to increase their exports but also to increase production itself so that there is enough both for domestic and foreign consumers in both payment areas. For it is no secret that producers who have an opportunity to sell their products in free currency markets will frequently increase their deliveries there at the expense of exports to the first payments area because it is more profitable for them given the current rates of exchange and the artificially maintained high ruble-to-dollar conversion factor.

Democratic Party Asserts Readiness for Roundtable

LD2811094088 Warsaw PAP in English
1918 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—The Presidium of the Democratic Party's CC here today, assessing the current sociopolitical situation in Poland, confirmed their readiness to participate in the round-table talks and reiterated regret that the preparations for this important meeting are being prolonged.

According to the Democratic Party, the round table will meet the public expectations only if it has a conciliatory not confrontational character. Stipulating preconditions is irreconcilable with the idea of this kind of forum, nor attempts at creating a situation in which only two sides would in fact sit at the table, i.e. the government side or the one representing the authorities, and the side of non-parliamentary opposition which describes itself as the only real and independent one and tries to reduce the role of other participants to elements of political decoration. This is absolutely contradictory to our vision of pluralism and granting equal political rights to all sociopolitical forces which respect the Constitution, the Presidium said.

The Democratic Party has prepared for the round-table talks a number of its own sovereign proposals for new concepts concerning political system and economy. We express our hope once again that progress will be made in the preparations for the dialogue of citizens in Jablonna and it will be possible for the round-table debates to take place, the meeting declared.

Government Aide Assesses Roundtable Prospects

PM3011123488 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 14 Nov 88 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Prof Artur Bodnar, political scientist and government adviser on the roundtable talks, by GLOS SZCZECINSKI correspondent Krzysztof Matlak; date and place not given]

[Text] [Matlak] Professor, you have been advising the government during the preparations for the roundtable talks. At the moment it seems that there is less and less hope of the talks beginning soon and consequently of their producing the expected results. Does this mean that the likelihood of the roundtable talks taking place at all is now much smaller?

[Bodnar] I think that the chances are still high. The authorities unequivocally declare their readiness to start the debate. The events of the past fortnight have introduced new factors into the dispute, which has until recently surrounded the formula for the roundtable talks. Among these new factors, I would emphasize the question of trade union and workers' concerns emerging more and more distinctly from within the Solidarity-oriented social current. Perhaps more time is needed before the trade union and workers' orientation becomes more consolidated within the Solidarity camp. At the same time the authorities are also introducing new factors into the situation. For example, they have initiated a rationalization of the economy and decided either to close down a number of enterprises or to subject them to major organizational and technical restructuring operations. This in turn carries with it many serious problems connected with workforces' social welfare concerns, which pose new, real-life challenges to individual industrial union organizations and Solidarity-oriented groups—challenges coming to them straight from the working people's world. Perhaps in this way government decisions help to create a new perspective from which to view the question of the Polish model of the trade union movement.

[Matlak] Do you think that Lech Walesa still insists on linking the question of the trade unions and the roundtable talks with the government's decision to close down the Gdansk shipyard?

[Bodnar] According to my information, Lech Walesa appears to have accorded priority to questions of a more general nature over the admittedly important but nonetheless specific problem of the future of the Gdansk shipyard. He intends to take the question of the shipyard to the Constitutional Tribunal and base his case there on economic and social arguments. I do not know whether questions of this kind fall within the competence of the Tribunal, but Lech Walesa's decision indicates that he has decided not to link the Solidarity movement or, to be more precise, the Solidarity-oriented current within that movement, with the case of the Gdansk shipyard. I mention these things in the hope that my information and my interpretation of the developments as they occur are both sufficiently accurate.

[Matlak] Does this mean that we can assume that the government side and the Solidarity camp have reached an unofficial compromise?

[Bodnar] I do not have sufficient information to warrant such an assumption. However, I believe that all the sides which would participate in the roundtable talks are at the moment working on a precise interpretation of their conception of the relevant Polish issues.

[Matlak] A few days ago General Kiszczak sent a letter to Lech Walesa, broaching the matter of the roundtable talks. Do you think that the government side has waived its condition that representatives of the former KOR [Workers' Defense Committee] must not take part in the roundtable talks?

[Bodnar] Nothing has recently taken place—or been said—that would allow us to assume that the people you are asking about have moved to positions closer to the stand taken by the government. I believe that it is high time to stop treating the pro-Solidarity bloc as a homogenous and cohesive group. Two distinctive orientations have recently been forming within this bloc, neither having much in common with the other. The first orientation emphasizes the workers and trade unions angle, the second concentrates exclusively on the political angle, proclaiming a philosophy which I would call the philosophy of anti-authority. It is a conglomerate of a number of anarchy-oriented trends. In addition, more and more people have been deserting the pro-Solidarity bloc and deciding to seek their identity in the nationalist-Catholic movement. For those people the nation and the state constitute supreme, dominant values which are further interpreted through the social teaching of the Catholic Church as expounded in the encyclicals of John Paul II. Thus, as you can see, we are witnessing the process of a definite crystallization of the ideological identities of the many distinct currents within our society. Until recently it was difficult to differentiate between these currents with sufficient clarity. The new developments could help us obtain more effective overall results in the roundtable talks and, what is more, they could help us implement the concept of the Council of National Conciliation.

[Matlak] Do you think that these processes of crystallizing the ideological identity of the different currents in our public life will also help resolve the problem of the model of the Polish trade union movement, especially since, as you have said, a workers and trade union wing is at the moment emerging within the pro-Solidarity bloc?

[Bodnar] Certainly the government side is interested in seeing this problem resolved along the lines suggested by your question, as are many representatives of the nationalist-Catholic current as well and, I believe, Lech Walesa himself.

[Matlak] In that case, Professor, do you believe that the past few weeks have been used by the government for scoring points?

[Bodnar] No. The past few weeks have been used by the government side for reappraising various Polish issues and concerns, this having been made possible by the resignation of Premier Messner's government which was, in turn, brought about by the vote of no confidence declared by the National Trade Union Alliance. Similar important reconsiderations have been taking place in the ranks of the many different groups within the opposition camp.

[Matlak] So what are the chances of a prompt start to the roundtable talks?

[Bodnar] I do not know. I am afraid that the social processes which we have been discussing here might cause further delays in our work on the roundtable talks. But the delays should not be too long....

[Matlak] Professor, thank you for talking to me. I hope that your optimism will prove to be justified.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-22 Nov

AU2511135588 [Editorial Report] The Polish press during the 17-22 November period reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

An ideological and theoretical conference for military officers held in Warsaw on 17 November was attended by Wladyslaw Baka, Stanislaw Ciosek, Tadeusz Olechowski, and Florian Siwicki. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 88 p 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, received Josef Havlin, the new CSSR ambassador to Poland, on 16 November. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 88 p 2)

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, has received Jerzy Kuberski, head of the Working Party for Permanent Working Contacts between the PPR Government and the Holy See. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 88 p 2) On 18 November, he received Andreas Somogyi, the Austrian ambassador to Poland. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Nov 88 p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, has held talks with Gyorgy Biczo, Hungary's ambassador to Poland. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 88 p 2) On 16 November, he received Douglas Gustafson, director of the International Finance Corporation attached to the World Bank. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 88 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and deputy chairman of the PPR State Council, has received Egoulia Kpanzou, the new Togolese ambassador to Poland. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 88 p 2) He also met employees of a Szczecin construction plant at an award ceremony in Szczecin. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 88 p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, has attended a 2-day conference for representatives of market-gardening cooperatives in Skierniewice Voivodship. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 88 p 2)

PEC Members Speak at RCP Plenum Session

Manescu Addresses Group

AU0512151488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Dec 88 p 4

["Speech by Comrade Manea Manescu," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee and other workers democracy bodies, in Bucharest on 29 November]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades: In the original and highly political and ideological speech delivered at this broad and typically democratic forum, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made a profound and extensive analysis of the cardinal stages of our people's struggle for social liberation and national unity, of the development of the Romanian society in general, and of the strategy of socialist and communist construction in our country in conditions of the world revolutionary process.

This programmatic document expresses the new and creative thinking of our outstanding party and state leader.

The participation for more than 55 years in the heroic revolutionary struggle under the party banner and the decisive role in all great political and social events, in preparing for and in the victory of the revolution, and in the whole process of socialist changes in our homeland, have entered the name of this legendary figure, the party secretary general and first president of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the pages of our national history.

Esteemed comrades, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a prominent political figure, an erudite and prolific humane thinker with a turn for study and research has forged the bright image and chiseled the infinite column of the Romanian people's development throughout the years.

Within the framework of our glorious national history, which he presented in such a uniform concept as never before, he examined—with scientific objectivity—the dynamics of the stages of economic and social construction in the Romanian society in the wake of the country's liberation in August 1944, a period strongly illuminated by the Ninth RCP Congress, that opened the new and magnificent socialist era.

The great 1965 congress has given a great impetus to the new revolutionary political thinking in Romanian society.

It is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive merit to have ensured the application in practice, in socialist construction, of the truth that the dialectics of the revolutionary process, which is a constant process, objectively requires an improvement of the entire society, with the people and for the people under the leadership of the RCP—the vital core of our whole nation.

The masterful speech, which is an intrinsic part of the extensive sociopolitical works of our secretary general, the problem of further perfecting the socioeconomic activity is presented fully in keeping with the requirement of constantly strengthening socialist ownership and by no means permitting the weakening of the property of all people and cooperative property—the lasting basis for the uniform development of our society. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that in the new stage the role and responsibilities of the RCP, of the socialist state, the workers revolutionary democratic organizations and bodies, and of all our people in developing socialist ownership, perfecting management and planning, and in achieving the scientific-technical revolution and the new agrarian revolution will increase, as will their role in the firm application of the economic mechanism—self-management and self-administration—in the correct distribution of the national revenue for accumulation and consumption, and in the socialist enlarged reproduction, which, through their unity and interdependence, form an extensive and complex framework within which the many-sided progress of our free, independent, and sovereign homeland will be ensured.

As the founder of the science of management on the basis of the uniform and all-encompassing national plan, the Romanian president has worked out theses and concepts of great theoretical and practical importance, in keeping with the specific conditions in our country, which have become part and parcel of the scientific heritage of socialist and communist construction.

In Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, which was emphasized in his speech, the organization and the scientific and planned management of social activities—systems which he formulated with original foresight and political realism—constitute basic prerogatives of the party, the state, and the self-management bodies, and are an expression of the unity of will and action of our whole nation. On the basis of his masterly scientific and political speech, our secretary general has excellently demonstrated that the symbiotic socialist ownership—scientific management on the basis of the uniform national plan—and revolutionary democracy constitute an essential characteristic of the legitimacy and viability of socialism as the mode of social organization of the present-day world.

The management and planning activity is open to constant renewal in keeping with the stages of the complex process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. Realities in Romania prove that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's sustained concern with constantly perfecting scientific management on the basis of the uniform national plan has spared us socioeconomic measures and reforms required by the given situation at a certain point and has ensured the continuity and stability of our homeland's rapid development.

With the same determination with which—throughout his longstanding activity—he fought, with scientific arguments, political, ideological, philosophic, historic, economic, and sociological dogmatism, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is excellently and consistently struggling against anachronistic, retrograde, and outdated ideas; at the same time, he is formulating new theoretical and practical concepts in keeping with our socialist society's progress. As the speech emphasized, it is our duty to constantly act in a revolutionary spirit, to thoroughly study, and to become acquainted with and examine the problems and phenomena of Romanian society and of the present-day world, and to promote a creative spirit in social thinking and practice, in socialist construction, and throughout Romania's development process.

Esteemed comrades: Life and history entitle us to state that the tremendous revolutionary changes wrought by our people in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress constitute a monumental, political, scientific, and humane work whose outstanding architect is our great president, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The achievements during the glorious Nicolae Ceausescu Era are impressive. Despite the difficult conditions in the world economy, the forces of production in Romania have constantly, smoothly, and proportionally developed. We have ensured the construction of a modern socialist economy characterized by an intensive industry and agriculture; the modernization and systematization process of cities and communes in our homeland has expanded. Profound revolutionary changes in the social structure have occurred and this demonstrates our society's progress in general. The broad image of our great and renewing material and cultural changes, which were depicted in the speech, ensure broad and generous prospects for Romania's socioeconomic development in the coming 5-year plan and beyond up to the 2000-2010 period, thus fulfilling the Romanian people's great aspirations for progress and civilization.

Esteemed comrades: Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech and Comrade Elena Ceausescu's speech, eminent political and state leaders, who are always united through their revolutionary thinking and activity, present new tasks of great responsibility regarding our country's socioeconomic development and better capitalizing on our people's inexhaustible source of intelligence and creativity and on the Romanian mind. On this basis science, the main force of our society's production process, will develop with even greater upsurge and the educational and professional role of schools will increase, patriotic and revolutionary awareness will strengthen, progressive ideological and political thinking will permeate the masses, and our nation's scientific knowledge and cultural standard will improve—an essential condition for man's many-sided affirmation and for a new quality in work and life and our general well-being, the RCP's supreme goal.

From this perspective, research in the area of the economy and social sciences must make a greater theoretical and practical contribution to becoming acquainted with the objective laws of development, to corroborating the decisions regarding the management and planning of socioeconomic activity, the application of the economic mechanism and of the principles of self-management and self-administration, to scientifically organizing and modernizing the production process and activity, to the management with the greatest of responsibility and efficiency of all our country's material and human resources, and to perfecting our society and all social activities.

In this sense we have an excellent example to follow. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the development of the socioeconomic theory and practice is tremendous. After the Ninth RCP Congress, our secretary general constantly and consistently carried out tremendous work to eliminate immobility and conservatism in thinking, theory, and economic activity, and in the management and planning of the socioeconomic activity.

Each party congress and national conference, and each speech by our country's president, as well as the exemplary work carried out day by day constitute tangible programs for perfecting the management and organizational framework of the national economy and of all social activities.

Through our party secretary's decisive contribution, the heritage of scientific socialism has been enriched with new theses, ideas, and original practices, which harmoniously blend with the concept on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advancement toward communism, an ingenious work of revolutionary thinking and activity, formulated with excellence by the stimulator and organizer of all our victories—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Esteemed comrades: The speech made by our secretary general—a figure of great prestige of the international political arena and of the communist and workers movement—conveys to our people a bright message of hope and of struggle for the triumph of the ideals of freedom, independence, and sovereignty, of international justice, peace, and cooperation throughout the world.

Throughout my activity, circumstances have enabled me to witness the great esteem and particular respect enjoyed by Romania's president among politicians, statesmen, men of science and culture, and among broad circles of international public opinion. During such instances, the commendatory appreciation for our country's wise foreign policy, for the realistic proposals and fervent appeals launched by the president of our Republic for disarmament, peace, unity, and cooperation among all nations, give rise to profound feelings of patriotic pride.

Humanity's profound response to the initiatives and steps taken by Socialist Romania to solve the complicated international problems, which have gained world scope, confer on Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the halo of peace hero.

Esteemed comrades: Romania's march forward toward its communist future is corroborated with scientific clearsightedness and political realism in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech—an extensive and complex revolutionary program for the constant development of our whole socialist society. From this high rostrum, I want to fully endorse the ideas in that impressive programmatic document, which has been proposed to be adopted as a program of work and revolutionary action of the party and all our people, and which is to form the basis of all our activities of preparing and holding the 14th RCP Congress; I also endorse the other documents presented, which reflect our president's dialectical creative thinking, and his exemplary dedication to constantly raising our country to new heights of material and cultural progress and of our people's well-being in general.

In this broad and representative forum of our socialist democracy, which is called upon to adopt decisions of great importance for the present and future of Romania at this point of great patriotic inspiration and of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the great unification on 1 December 1918, and at a time when all our people are welcoming the 45th anniversary of the historic act of our liberation on 23 August 1944 and the 14th RCP Congress, let us pledge with great determination to work with revolutionary passion and devotion under the invincible banner of the RCP.

Let us follow the fervent call of our great leader, the symbol of the solid unity of all our people, who are firmly determined to faithfully follow the wise words and bold actions of the great hero of our nation—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Ludovic Fazekas Delivers Speech

AU0612083788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Dec 88 p 5

[Report on "Speech by Comrade Ludovic Fazekas," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee and other workers democracy bodies, in Bucharest 29 November]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades: The joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum, the workers revolutionary bodies, and mass and public organizations, a political event of the greatest importance in the life of our party and people and in the great work of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancement toward communism is taking place in light of the guidelines, tasks, and recommendations included in the masterly speech given at the opening of the proceedings by our excellent party and state leader, the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

A paragon of scientific study on the current stage of Romanian society and of masterly forecasting the path and directions of action for our homeland's future socioeconomic development, this document of exceptional theoretical and practical value is a fresh and priceless contribution by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to enriching present-day sociopolitical thinking, to the more pronounced affirmation of the party as the leading political force in society, and a contribution to uniting the efforts and creative capabilities of all our nation in implementing the tasks and goals of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference.

Under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations, the people's councils—by better fulfilling their tasks and in response to the party secretary general's calls—have become involved to a greater extent in the management of all local activities and in the fulfillment of the regional plan, in fulfilling tasks aimed at making better use of local raw and other material resources, increasing the production of the small-scale industry, and in achieving the export production by acting to increase product quality and respect the economic efficiency criteria.

With legitimate patriotic pride we can affirm—from this high rostrum of workers revolutionary democracy—that all our country's counties and localities have such a level of development not even the most daring of our predecessors would have dreamed of, and this as a result of the scientific and correct policy consistently promoted by our party and state headed by our beloved leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a policy aimed at the rational distribution of the forces of production throughout the country and at the harmonious development of all areas in our country.

Consistent with the general political line placed in the service of man and his needs, and aimed at ensuring a new quality of work and life for the working people and at constantly improving the standard of living and level of civilization and convenience of the producers of material and cultural assets, our party has paid particular attention to housing construction. Today more than 82 percent of the population are living in new and comfortable housing, thus bringing our country closer to the point when the housing problems will be solved definitively.

The implementation of the comprehensive process of organizing and modernizing our homeland's localities, as an intrinsic part of the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, initiated and directly guided by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as early as the RCP National Conference in 1967, which established the principles of territorial-administrative reorganization, mobilizes all people's councils to implement the socioeconomic development programs closely linked with the provisions of organizing and modernizing all localities. We will resolutely work, as you have requested, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to establish communes with an economic base matching the level of the requirements of the new agrarian revolution and of Romanian society's development in general by organizing these units, so that they may coordinate all local socioeconomic activities and implement the principles of self-management, self-sufficiency, and self-administration in each territorial-administrative unit. At the same time, we shall pay particular attention to developing the communes that will be the seat of the uniform state and cooperative agroindustrial councils, so that they may turn into agroindustrial towns.

Like all branches of our national economy, the construction material and wood processing industry has vigorously developed in the bright years of the Nicolae Ceausescu Era. New production capacities have been built in the construction material sector to ensure the production of products that permit the mechanization of operations and an improved rate of finishing construction projects.

As far as the wood processing sector is concerned, new factories have been built equipped with the most modern installations. Given the restrictions on tree felling in forests as a result of the constant concern of our party leadership with preserving natural resources—wood—the industrial commodity production has increased threefold, while furniture production—a branch with a high processing degree—increased more than thirteenfold this year, thus meeting all requirements at home and ensuring considerable quantities for export. The degree of utilizing wood stocks has increased from 532 lei per cubic meter in 1965 to 2,210 lei per cubic meter this year.

For all this, please permit me, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to pay warm and respectful homage to you, the excellent founder of modern Socialist Romania, hero among the heroes of our nation, enthusiastic patriot and consistent revolutionary, who, for more than 55 years has served the noble ideals of the Romanian nation with dedication and wisdom and with great devotion and revolutionary boldness; I also want to express fervent and warmest thanks for everything you have done and are doing for the happiness of all sons and daughters of Socialist Romania, and for the firm affirmation of our country among the ranks of the dignified, free, and independent nations in the world.

At the same time, please permit me to express—from this high rostrum—the feelings of great esteem and appreciation, which we harbor for Comrade Elena Ceausescu and for her important contribution to formulating and implementing our party and state policy, and to the constant progress of Romanian science, education, and culture.

The speaker then said: In the period that elapsed this year, the working people in the wood processing and construction material sector, strongly mobilized by your guidelines and calls, much esteemed comrade secretary general, have made sustained efforts to fulfill their plan tasks.

By better utilizing our material-technical base and by firmly applying the measures stipulated in the program for perfecting the organizational framework of activities and modernizing the production processes, the commodity production plan for the 10 months that have passed in this current year has been completely fulfilled and an increase of 2.6 billion lei has been achieved compared with the same period in 1987. The plan tasks regarding increasing the itemized production and labor productivity, and regarding investments have been fulfilled. All planned projects have been put into operation, and the planned parameters have been achieved. Through a sustained activity of promoting our products in foreign markets, we have fulfilled and exceeded the export production plan in terms of both hard currency and clearing with socialist countries.

Examining the activity in light of the great requirements formulated by you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at this joint meeting we must frankly admit, in a self-critical spirit, that a number of shortfalls have continued in our activity linked with the organization and running of the production process, with the inappropriate maintenance of equipment and installations, and with the incomplete utilization of all production capacities. There have been complaints about product quality. We have still large stockpiles of products, some consumption norms have been exceeded, and the planned production costs have not been respected.

We assure you, much esteemed and beloved comrade secretary general, that we have taken all necessary measures and that we will constantly work to implement the 1988 plan provisions and to thoroughly prepare for next year's production when we will have greater tasks, both regarding quantitative, qualitative, and efficiency indicators. We will always focus on the fulfillment of the itemized production, primarily the export production, and will strictly observe the plan provisions on production costs, consumption norms and stocks, and we will ensure the resolute implementation of the party decisions and the state's laws on the progress of all economic activities by ensuring ever better quality and an increased efficiency.

In conclusion, the speaker said: Please permit me to assure you, much beloved and esteemed secretary general, that we will work with great patriotic responsibility and revolutionary, communist devotion to fulfill our tasks stipulated by the masterly programmatic document submitted to this high democratic forum for discussion and endorsement; I want to assure you that we will do all we can to commendably honor our obligations stipulated by our country's socioeconomic development plans, thus honoring—with the most fruitful and prestigious achievements—next year's great political events: The 14th RCP Congress and the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation of August 1944.

1989 Socioeconomic Development Plan Released

AU0212190788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 2 Dec 88

["Romania's National Economy Develops in 1989"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/12/1988—The law of the national plan for Romania's socio-economic development in 1989 adopted by the Grand National Assembly has been released today. The plan reflects the concern, deciding for the 1986-1990 interval as a whole, to concentrate efforts on the achievement of intensive reproduction, maximal utilization of the production potential, application into production of the latest gains of the revolution in science and technology, in one word a faster growth of economic efficiency. This policy synthetically reflects in growing tasks. From 1988 the national income increases 8-9 per cent and the net industrial output 9-10 per cent. The social product also grows (5.5-6.5 per cent) and so does the industrial marketable output (6-7 per cent). There is a similar ratio between the value of the net and that of the overall farm output (6.0-6.5 and 5.0-5.5 per cent).

The plan provides for Romania's growing participation in commercial exchanges and international economic cooperation. The foreign trade volume is to grow 7-8 per cent from 1988, the levels set relying on increasing exports and their higher efficiency.

Total investments in the economy rise 4-5 per cent as to the current year. Amounting to 300 thousand million lei, they will be concentrated on a faster putting into operation of the projects under way and on overhauls, inclusive of the modernization of fixed assets. Investments will be primarily earmarked for the implementation of the programme for modernization and equipment with new machinery and outfit, substantially reducing the share of construction works in the total investments.

The orientation toward higher economic efficiency also reflects in the plan provisions for a growing productivity in the all-country industry (7-8 per cent), and for lower production expenses in 1,000 lei worth of marketable production (by 35 lei).

On the development of the economy and the growth of the national wealth also relies the rising welfare of the population illustrated by a 5.6 per cent increase of the working personnel's payment fund (next year all the payments will be raised) and a 2 per cent rise in the farmers' incomes derived from the work done in the producer cooperative farms and in individual farmsteads as well as by the growth of retail sales (1-1.5 per cent) and of services to the population (8-9 per cent). 160,000 houses will be built, of which 40,000 in rural localities.

Socioeconomic Councils Plenary Meetings Held

AU0412195588 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 30 November, page 7, carries four separate reports—totaling 7,000 words—on plenary meetings held in Bucharest on 29 November by various socioeconomic councils to discuss the 1989 plans, the educational-cultural, scientific, and research activity, and the party's health and demographic policy. Each of the reports lists the names of those who took the floor during the meetings.

The 2,200-word report on the "Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Working People" mentions that the meeting was attended by "full and candidate PEC members, secretaries of the RCP Central Committee, members of the RCP Central Committee, of the State Council, and government," as well as by other officials from ministries and central departments.

According to the report, the proceedings were chaired by Emil Bobu, PEC member, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, vice first chairman of the National Council of Working People, and chairman of the council's executive bureau.

The plenary meeting discussed the 1989 socioeconomic development, agriculture, and food industry plans, and the State Budget for 1989. The report states that those who took the floor "expressed words of great appreciation for Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly speech" during the recent joint RCP Central Committee plenum and praised Ceausescu's "decisive contribution to formulating and implementing our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy." They also praised Elena Ceausescu's contribution to "the constant prosperity of Romanian science, education, and culture."

In connection with this year's activity, the speakers "emphasized the results achieved in the past 11 months and the measures that were taken to make better use of production capacities," improve quality, and reduce energy, raw and other material consumption. The speakers "fully endorsed" Nicolae Ceausescu's "actions, steps, and initiatives" aimed at "detente, peace, disarmament, understanding, and cooperation among all nations in the world."

The 1,400-word report on "The Plenary Meeting of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education" states that the proceedings were chaired by Suzana Gadea, PEC candidate member and chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, and that, apart from the members of the council, the meeting was attended by the chairmen of the county committees for socialist culture and education, leadership cadres from subordinated units, and by officials from certain central institutions.

According to the report, the speakers praised Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the "affirmation of the general truths of scientific socialism and to enriching them with new theses, concepts, and ideas regarding capitalizing on the tremendous potential for progress of the socialist society."

The report states that the plenary meeting praised the "noteworthy contribution" made by Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, to "developing science, education, culture, and art in our homeland." According to the report, the meeting examined—"in a critical and self-critical spirit"—"a number of shortfalls and drawbacks in the activity of some cultural establishments," which are still not involved enough in the specific problems of socioeconomic.

The plenary meeting emphasized the need to "improve the quality of literary and artistic works," and pointed out the council's activity aimed at "promoting the exchange of cultural assets with foreign countries and at cultural cooperation with all countries in the world."

The 2,400-word report on "The Plenary Meeting of the National Council for Science and Education" states that Elena Ceausescu, PEC member, first deputy prime minister, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Culture, chaired the plenary meeting. It states that "members of the leadership of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of science academies, central institutions, scientific research and technological engineering, and design units, members of higher educational institutes, men of science, researchers, university professors, other educational cadres, secretaries of county party committees in charge of economic and propaganda problems, secretaries of party committees from research and educational units, specialists from central departments and industrial enterprises, representatives of come central institutions, mass, and public organizations attended the plenary meeting."

According to the report, those who took the floor described Nicolae Ceausescu's recent speech at the joint RCP Central Committee plenum as "a document of the greatest significance for socialist construction in our homeland, which opens up new horizons of progress and civilization for the Romanian society." They also emphasized Nicolae Ceausescu's "exceptional contribution to formulating and corroborating our party's and state's entire domestic and foreign policy," and to "building socialism and communism in Romania."

The speakers expressed "warm words of appreciation for the tireless and many-sided activity" of Elena Ceausescu under whose guidance "Romanian scientific research and the specialists in education and in the production process are making an outstanding contribution to our homeland's socioeconomic development," to an "intensified international scientific-technical cooperation, and to the exchange of material and cultural assets between Romania and the other nations in the world."

The report states that the council's first vice chairman, Ion Ursu, presented a report emphasizing that the activity focused on a "more pronounced integration of scientific research, education, and production" in an effort "to place Romania among the ranks of medium-developed countries—the strategic goal of the current stage of implementing the party's magnificent program."

After mentioning the "successes achieved in scientific research and technological development," the speakers reportedly emphasized that the "nonfulfillment of certain goals of the 1988 uniform national plan for socioeconomic development is linked with shortfalls in the fulfillment of tasks included in the programs of modernizing products and technologies." The speakers made proposals on how to improve work and ensure "closer cooperation between research-design-educational units and the production process."

Taking the floor at the end of the plenary meeting, Elena Ceausescu emphasized the need to "organize a commendable activity in these important sectors of socialist construction, so that we will achieve the best of results in all areas." She said that "the research activity must be thoroughly organized according to priority problems" to "increase the contribution of science to implementing the party program and to the development of our socialist homeland in general."

Elena Ceausescu stressed that "labor productivity must be increased, material and energy consumption reduced, and the technical and qualitative standard of all products improved, so that they meet the most exacting requirements." In conclusion, she emphasized that "greater attention must be paid to the rational utilization of all research and design personnel and to the rational administration of all material and financial funds, so that the criterion of maximum efficiency will become a priority element of this activity as well."

The 1,000-word report on the "Plenary Meeting of the Higher Health Council" states that it was chaired by Lina Ciobanu, PEC member, first deputy prime minister, and chairman of the Higher Health Council, and that the audience included such guests as "members of the

Managerial Council of the Ministry of Health, secretaries in charge of social affairs of some county party committees, directors of institutions, medical centers and units, chief physicians of Bucharest Municipal districts, representatives from ministries, mass and public organizations, and members of the National Demographic Commission."

Those who took the floor termed Nicolae Ceausescu's recent speech as "a document of exceptional theoretical and practical value," and paid "homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu" for her constant concern with "developing and modernizing the medical-health sector" and with "solving the major problems of medical care." According to the report, the meeting examined the action taken to "implement the health and demographic policy promoted by our party and state, the health programs, and the decisions adopted by the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference."

After examining what steps have been taken to "preserve and strengthen the people's health condition," the participants emphasized the need "to create" among the medical personnel "a high humanitarian awareness, sense of duty and responsibility for our people's health."

Ceausescu Makes Speech to SDUF Plenum

AU0512142088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Dec 88 pp 1, 2

["Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the Plenary Meeting of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front," held on 30 November in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and friends: The plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] in complete unanimity discussed and approved all draft bills regarding the socioeconomic development of our homeland, which will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for approval.

All these documents, regarding the plan of socioeconomic development in 1989, the agricultural and budget plans, and the self-sufficiency program, include the major guidelines for developing the socioeconomic activity in the next year, in complete accordance with the provisions for the 1986-90 plan and with the decisions of the 13th RCP Conference and the party national conference.

We are coming to the end of the third year of the current 5-year plan. In general, in the first 3 years we have achieved good results in all sectors of activity, however we must openly state that, although they represent an important improvement, these results are not up to the 5-year plan provisions.

The plan for the next year is particularly important for the fulfillment of the whole 5-year plan. Therefore, all the SDUF member organizations, and all those who, in one way or another, make a contribution to the fulfillment of the socioeconomic development programs, should most firmly proceed to the thorough preparation of the next year's plan, and, at the same time, should take action to fulfill this year's plan appropriately. Let us do all we can, so that on the first day of the new year, we ensure the appropriate fulfillment of the plans and development programs in all fields of activity!

As is reflected in the plan provisions that we have approved, we have everything we need: a good material base and—I would like to stress it—primarily, we have a wonderful workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and wonderful people who, in complete unity, work firmly under the leadership of the RCP—the leading political force of our society—to ensure Romania's advance toward the new peaks of progress and civilization! (loud, prolonged applause)

Within the great democratic forum that has concluded its proceedings today, we broadly discussed the achievements we have registered so far and the prospects for future development. I believe that they are well known by all the participants in our plenary meeting and therefore I no longer wish to dwell on them.

Those who have taken the floor today, noted correctly that our great achievements in socioeconomic development, in socialist construction, and in improving the scientific, educational, and cultural activity and the activities of shaping the revolutionary awareness and improving the material and cultural level of our people, tellingly prove the force of a nation which has eliminated oppression and exploitation forever and which has become master of its destinies and is freely forging its own socialist and communist future. (loud and prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

We have a broad democratic framework for ensuring the participation of all working people and of all social categories in the management of all sectors of activity. The SDUF itself represents a broad democratic framework, in which all the citizens of our homeland are represented through their organizations and bodies and openly give their opinion about all problems regarding the domestic and foreign policy of our country. The fact that the SDUF National Council has unanimously adopted all documents which have been discussed, proves the close unity in which our whole nation is determined to work unflinchingly to ensure the continuous development of the production forces and of all the sectors of activity, the improvement of the material and cultural standard of living, and, on this basis, the increase of the material and cultural assets of our nation and ensure the continuous strengthening of Romania's independence and sovereignty and our nation's firm progress toward the golden dream! (loud, prolonged applause)

I would like to draw attention to the self-management and self-sufficiency program. As you were able to see for yourselves, this program ensures a good material base for appropriately satisfying the needs of our whole people in all areas. Now, it is decisive that we take all necessary measures to appropriately implement the provisions of this program.

I think that you remember that—talking about issues connected with foodstuffs—we have proceeded from the need that, the number of animals for each county should be established in accordance with the population of each county and the people's councils and the local bodies in all areas should be in charge of this issue.

We have proceeded from the fact that, by achieving the slaughter weight —not a very big one—established by law, we can ensure a proper supply of the whole population with meat and meat products. The counties that achieve a more marked increase in animal weight will benefit from the whole additional quantity of meat, thus superseding the former provisions of the law, which stipulated that only 50 percent of the additional meat should remain in the respective county. But, at the same time, those counties that do not take proper action to ensure the animal weight stipulated by law, will have less meat.

Therefore, it is within the power of each people's council, of the working people, and, certainly, primarily of the agricultural workers to appropriately implement the self-sufficiency program.

All people's councils and all SDUF bodies should pay particular attention and give priority to the implementation of this program.

We should always bear in mind that everything we achieve in our society is meant for the people, for their well-being and happiness and that we are building socialism with the people and for the people—thus let us do everything for their well-being and happiness! (loud, prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu and the People!")

Since the report on the activity of the SDUF bodies has been discussed, I would like to emphasize and draw attention to the need to perfect and improve the activity of the bodies of our front and of all the other participant organizations.

We should use this broad democratic framework to discuss all problems regarding the activity in every county, locality, and socioeconomic unit throughout the country. The SDUF and its bodies should become much more active and should carry out a much more intensive activity to ensure the participation of the broad masses and of the whole nation in the socioeconomic life of our country.

It is very important to pay a greater attention to the activity of educating and shaping the new type of man and to the cultural-instructional activity and to give greater scope to the national festival "Song to Romania" which represents a wonderful framework for asserting the creative power of our people in all areas and asserting the wonderful cultural and artistic traditions, as well as creative ability in the scientific and other areas.

Let us see to it that our nation, which, as a matter of fact, is the true creator of its culture and language, continues to play the decisive role in developing Romanian culture and civilization, because only in this way will we be able to ensure a culture and civilization in accordance with the aspirations of our whole nation! (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades and friends: This year on 1 December we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the creation of the united Romanian national state, which meant the victory of the century-long struggle of the Romanian people to live in unity, in a single united state, in which they are able to be masters of their destinies. (loud, prolonged applause)

Also within this framework of the SDUF National Council, let us pay homage to all those who, through their struggle and sacrifices made a contribution to the achievement of our people's aspiration, the establishment of the united Romanian national state! (loud, prolonged applause)

Above all, let us honor and pay homage to our wonderful people, the true founders of our homeland's whole history and also of the united Romanian national state—70 years ago—which is the true guarantee of Romania's continuous progress on the path of civilization, toward the golden dream, toward the communist society! (loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the People!" and "Ceausescu, heroism—Romania, communism!")

Within this framework, too, let us pledge that, with our activity in all areas, we will serve the cause of independence and sovereignty, the cause of our people's well-being and happiness, and that we will do all we can in order to ensure a dignified place for our nation in a better and more just world, in a world in which the Romanian people will be able to make complete use of their creative capacities and to lead a dignified life in accordance with their wishes! (loud, prolonged applause)

Within this framework, too, let us pledge that we will work with utmost determination to implement the foreign policy of our party, the policy of cooperation with all the countries of the world, regardless of social system! The Socialist Romania and the whole Romanian people will do all they can, also in the future, to make a contribution to the achievement of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament and of a world free of weapons and free of wars; they will also contribute to finding new, democratic solutions to the complex problems of our times, to eliminating force and the threat of force from interstate relations, to ensuring security and cooperation in Europe, to finding solutions to the problems of underdevelopment, and to achieving a new world economic order, which can ensure the progress of all nations and, particularly, of the developing countries.

We will do all we can to strengthen cooperation with all socialist countries, with developing countries, and with developed capitalist countries, starting from the requirement that only in conditions of peace and cooperation can each nation—our nation, too—implement the socioeconomic development programs and only in this way will we be able to ensure the triumph of reason and the existence of life itself on our planet.

In the name of life and of people we will do all we can to ensure the right of each nation to develop freely and independently! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu - peace!")

In conclusion, I would like to express my belief that all the participants in the plenary meeting of the SDUF National Council and of all the SDUF organizations and bodies will work in complete unity and will do all they can to contribute to the fulfillment of all socioeconomic development programs and will ensure the continuous improvement of our people's material and cultural well-being!

With this, I wish all of you success in your activity, much health and happiness! (loud applause; prolonged applause of "Ceausescu - RCP!," and "Ceausescu and the people!")

I declare the proceedings of this plenary meeting closed! Great success in your work, comrades! (loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu - peace!." In an atmosphere of close unity and great enthusiasm. all those present in the hall chant for minutes on end for the RCP—the leading force of our whole nation—and for the party secretary general, the president of the SR of Romania, and the SDUF chairman, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Ceausescu Addresses Rally on Union Anniversary

AU0512152788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Dec 88 p 2

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Great Mass Rally Devoted to the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the United Romanian National State"—held on 30 November in Bucharest]

[Text] Dear comrades: On the occasion of our great holiday of 1 December, when we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the united Romanian national state, I would like to convey to all of you who came here to this great celebration of the union and to our whole nation warm greetings and best wishes for success in all areas! (loud chants and cheers; chants of "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

The founding of the united national state 70 years ago, represented the fulfillment of the century-old aspirations of our people to live in unity, to work together, and to build a new, better, and free life. (loud and prolonged, repeated cheers and chants)

Now, when we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the united national state, we can state with justified pride that only socialism succeeded in raising the general well-being of our people, in strengthening independence and sovereignty, and in fulfilling the century-old aspirations of our people to live a better, freer, and more independent life. (loud, prolonged cheers and chants)

As I said a short while ago, at the conclusion of the great democratic forum, let us pledge to do all we can to implement the programs for our homeland's socioeconomic development!

Let us honor the founders of the united Romanian national state! Let us honor the Romanian people—the true founder of this historic act and of the general history of our homeland—with new achievements and with the determination to unflinchingly fulfill our party's program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism! (loud, prolonged, repeated chants and cheers)

At this great rally, too, I would like to assure our friends abroad and all the countries in Europe and in the world, that the united Romanian people, masters of their destinies, wish to live in cooperation and friendship with all the nations and wish to build their life freely, in accordance with their desire!

We wish to cooperate for peace, disarmament, and for the establishment of a better and more just world! (loud cheers and chants; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu - peace!") I extend thanks to you dear comrades and friends for this great rally devoted to the celebration of and to paying homage to the proclamation of the united Romanian national state and I extend to you wishes for increasingly greater successes in your whole activity, much good health and happiness! (loud cheers, chants; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu - Romania, our esteem and pride!," "Long live Ceausescu—for Romania's prosperity!," "Ceausescu - RCP!," "Ceausescu and the people!," " and "Ceausescu - peace!." In a strong unity of thinking and feeling, all those who are present at the big mass rally cheer and chant minutes on end for the RCP and for its secretary general and the president of the country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Yugoslavia Congratulated on National Holiday

Ceausescu Sends Greetings

AU0212183588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 88 p 8

[Message by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency on national day]

[Text] To Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, Belgrade

Esteemed Comrade Dizdarevic: On the national holiday of the SFRY, I take pleasure in extending cordial congratulations to you and the peoples of Yugoslavia on behalf of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romania people, and on my own behalf.

Together with my best wishes for your happiness and wishes for success to the friendly Yugoslav peoples in socialist construction, I want to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation on various levels between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the SFRY will constantly develop on the basis of summit understandings and decisions in the interests of our peoples and of the cause of socialism and peace, cooperation, and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dascalescu Sends Message to Counterpart

AU0312174988 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 88 p 8

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a cable to Comrade Branko Mikulic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, on that country's national day, expressing, on behalf of the government and on his own behalf warm congratulations and best wishes for success in the homeland's socialist development.

The cable expresses the conviction that the governments of the two countries will make an increasingly important contribution to developing relations of friendship and many-sided Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation in the interests of our peoples and of the cause of peace, cooperation, and understanding in Europe and throughout the world.

Further on Sidney Consulate Incident

3 Australian Diplomats Expelled

LD0512173888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Three diplomatic officials at the Australian Embassy in Belgrade have been declared persona non grata, and have been asked to leave the territory of the SFRY within 7 days.

The Australian Embassy was informed in a note from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, which was delivered to Australian charge d'affaires Peter Shennon by Drago Mirosinc, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs at 1730 today.

The note informs the Australian Embassy in Belgrade that three of its diplomatic officials are declared persona non grata as a result of the totally unfounded decision of the Australian Government withdrawing its consent to allow the General Consulate in Sydney to continue operating, declaring its staff as undesirable, and also in light of the SFRY's interests and dignity, and of international law. They and their families are asked to leave Yugoslav territory within 7 days.

Sydney Consulate Staff Returns

LD0512172488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Employees of the Sydney Consulate and members of their families arrived in Belgrade today on board a Yugoslav JAT airlines aircraft. They were welcomed by relatives and friends, representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, and numerous journalists and cameramen. Stanojlo Glisic, Yugoslav consul general in Sydney, drove from the airport to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, where he was received by Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar.

Loncar Meets Returnees

LD0512234688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1749 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—"Welcome. You behaved in the right manner." These were the words with which Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar received today a group of officials from the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney who were taken to the Federal Secretariat immediately upon arrival.

On behalf of the Federal Excecutive Council, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, and on his own behalf, Loncar thanked the returnees for their "high political sense and professionalism" and for "the proud and determined conduct."

The Federal Secretary also said that the whole Yugoslav public followed the events in Sydney with great excitement and continued to give full support and recognition for the Yugoslav consular representatives and their families.

Concluding that the protection of the consulate in Sydney was inadequate, Loncar described its closure as "an incomprehensible act" which was harmful not just for relations between the two countries, but also for the Australian Government which, following this case, has given rise to doubts about its own obligations in fighting international terrorism.

The federal secretary for foreign affairs took advantage of this occasion to stress that Yugoslavia did not accept any ultimatums and that it can only be communicated with on the basis of mutual understanding and respect.

"You were up to your task. Thank you", he concluded.

Consul General Glisic expressed thanks for support on behalf of the officials of the consulate and their families. He also said that the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney received numerous expressions of solidarity and singled out the staff of the Belgian Consulate which was also, in an indirect way, a victim of the attack. Glisic mentioned a moving farewell staged for the officials and their families by emigrants of Yugoslav origin.

Glisic believes that in the course of time the tension between the two countries will become relaxed and the conditions again created for a sober and sensible consideration of all that has happened.

Finally, he described his colleagues from the consulate and their families as ones who "shouldered their share of the burden stoically in the belief that they were doing it for the benefit of their country and its reputation."

Emigre Attacked in Adelaide

LD0512122388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1106 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Sydney, Dec 5 (TANJUG) - Unidentified persons hurled a Molotov cocktail on the car of the president of the Yugoslav center in Adelaide, Yugoslav emmigrant Momir Dacic, at 22:00 last night, local time. He was not injured but his car was damaged.

Dacic, a taxi driver, parked his car in front of the garage after returning from a meeting where members of the Yugoslav community in Adelaide held a protest rally against the closing of the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney and the expulsion of Yugoslav diplomats.

According to Momir Dacic, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at his car causing about 1,500 dollars in damage. Fortunately, two gas and gasoline reservoirs in the car, containing about 150 liters of fuel, did not catch fire. It was also fortunate that the taxi tyres caught fire, causing an explosion that put out the fire. According to the police, the Molotov cocktail thrown at the car of the president of the Yugoslav Center in Adelaide is similar to the one which was thrown at the center on August 2, when several rooms caught fire causing considerable material damage.

Australians of Yugoslav origin in Adelaide rallied in support of the Yugoslav Government decision not to hand over the security guard of the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney, who fired into the air in an attempt to defend the consulate building from pro-Ustashi extremists recently. It was demanded at the rally that the Australian authorities arrest the perpetrators of the incident who should not have trespassed sovereign Yugoslav territory and raided the consulate grounds.

Stones were also hurled at the Yugoslav center in Adelaide last Wednesday, breaking several windows.

Consulate Closure 'Incomprehensible'

LD0512200988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—Despite our repeated requests and warnings, police protection of the Yugoslav Consulate-General in Sydney during demonstrations by 1,500 Ustasha emigres was wholly lacking, the expelled Yugoslav Consul-General Stanojlo Glisic stated on his return with the entire consular staff to the country today.

The Australian Government expelled the staff of the Yugoslav Consulate-General in Sydney as "personae non gratae" and closed the consulate, after an incident during demonstrations on November 27 by Ustasha terrorists, followers of the policy of the Nazi-controlled "Independent State of Croatia," a quisling puppet state created on Yugoslav territory during World War Two.

The Australian authorities claim that a member of the Yugoslav Consulate's security staff wounded a 16-year-old demonstrator when he fired warning shots into the air as the Ustasha terrorists broke into the consulate grounds and tried to tear down the Yugoslav flag.

Inadequate police protection is the reason why the staff of the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney was forced to defend the symbol of Yugoslavia, its flag, with bare hands, Glisic said. He stressed that the security officer fired the warning shots up into the air and was absolutely calm and collected.

Glisic and the rest of the consular staff from Sydney were welcomed home at Belgrade Airport, and were then received by Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, who thanked them for their high sense of political and professional duty and proud and resolute conduct.

Loncar assessed the closing of the Yugoslav Consulate-General in Sydney as an "incomprehensible act," damaging to Yugoslav-Australian relations. He said the act was also damaging to the government in Canberra, which has in this case placed into question its own obligations in the struggle against international terrorism.

The Yugoslav Consulate-General in Sydney has been closed and its staff expelled, after the Yugoslav Government refused to accept the Australian Government's ultimatum to hand over the security staff member who fired the warning shots.

Loncar reiterated that Yugoslavia does not accept ultimatums and that it accepts dialogue solely on the basis of mutual understanding and respect.

Consul Glisic stressed that after the incident on November 27, the Yugoslav Consulate-General in Sydney received many expressions of solidarity, among them those from the staff of the Belgian Consulate-General in Sydney whose grounds were also violated by the Ustasha terrorists.

The JAT Sydney-Belgrade flight, bringing the consular staff back to Yugoslavia, was dramatic, the correspondent of the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI reported from Singapore.

When the plane was between Sydney and Singapore, the Sydney Flight Control informed the crew that an anonymous caller said that a bomb had been planted aboard.

The plane's captain continued the flight to Singapore, where a thorough search was carried out. Luckily, no explosive devices were found, and the flight continued on to Belgrade.

Commentary on Incident

AU0612132488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 88 p 6

[TANJUG commentary: "They Defended the Reputation of the Country"]

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec—It is certain that the unexpected and sudden withdrawal of hospitality has not been easy for any of the Yugoslavs who have been expelled from Sydney. Children will interrupt their schooling, family and work plans have been disturbed, and some of them are returning when they have only just arrived.

However, one thing is quite clear today—not one of them is returning to their homeland with their head hung in guilt. On the contrary— they are arriving in Yugoslavia with their heads held high. In far away Australia, left to themselves in the Consulate General in Sydney, they defended the dignity of their country, its flag, its borders, and life itself.

They knew that they were obliged to do this from the day that they set off for that country and entered this service, but not one of them counted on the fact that the Australian Government would leave them in the lurch and force them to defend themselves with their own hands from an angry mass of pro-Ustasha terrorists. After this, when there was no choice left, this handful of our people went out last Sunday in front of Ustasha storm troopers to defend the Yugoslav flag so that it would not be burnt and trampled under foot.

Because of this, their countrymen await them with pride; the way they have always greeted those who have not submitted to pressure, blackmail, and terror.

That is one thing. The other is the outcome of the whole affair concerning the incident in our Consulate General since last Sunday. Now that matters have gone as far as they have, it emerges clearly and unambiguously that the Australian authorities have bowed to the pro-Ustasha groups in that country so that in the whole affair only these forces can be satisfied— Ecstatic even, because this time matters have reached the point to which they were being pushed for decades.

The vast majority of Yugoslav emigres cannot be satisfied with this. They showed this in yesterday's and today's protests against the closure of our consulate in Sydney and with the thousands of letters, telegrams, and phone calls to our diplomatic representatives in that country. They do not support the destruction of bridges with "the old country" in the same way that they do not support the destruction of relations between two countries.

Yugoslavs cannot be satisfied with what has happened. Perhaps now the already spoiled diplomatic relations will continue to function. However, these relations have been disturbed. Trust has also been shaken which will certainly influence Yugoslavia's friendly feelings toward this far away but also near country.

Last week's incident in Sydney has cast a dark shadow over these friendly relations. Much effort, tact, and good will will be needed for it to be swept aside and wiped away.

Today one simply cannot help asking: Why did Australia do that and what sort of internal or external necessities forced it to push relations between two friendly countries into such a crisis? How could an important, democratic, and friendly country bow to reoccurring fascist forces of a tragic past, a past in which Australia itself fought against fascism?

And another thing, which is also a puzzle: Where did Australia get the idea and the daring, to talk so arrogantly to a sovereign country which has endured so many difficulties in its past, and in no other way than through an ultimatum? We must say that Yugoslavia does not understand this language. It simply does not understand or accept it. It cannot help but be surprised that the Australian authorities know it.

Consul General Hearing on U.S. Money Laundering

AU0412153288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Dusan Zupan report]

[Text] A preliminary hearing of Yugoslav Consul General Bahrdudin Bjedic in Chicago, who has been transferred from Chicago to Philadelphia, is suppose to take place in Philadelphia today at 1830 Yugoslav time. According to U.S. court procedures, this hearing is only suppose to establish the identity of the accused and to decide whether he should be released on bail until the actual trail, or whether he should remained in custody. In order to release people on bail, U.S. courts usually require certain guarantees, either money or other guarantees that the accused will appear at the trial, which is to say that he will not try to evade the trial.

The preliminary hearing was originally scheduled to take place in Philadelphia yesterday, but has been postponed until today for reasons known only to the court. It has been learned that only Bjedic will attend this trial and not the other four men in the group accused of the so-called laundering of illicit money. Today's trial will also be attended by the representatives of the embassy from Washington.

The other Yugoslav in this group, Vinko Mir, chairman of the Ljubljana Bank subsidiary in New York, has been released on bail, but he could not be found anywhere to shed some light on how true American accusations are.

Ljubljana Bank Comments

AU0612152088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec

[Text] The New York branch of the Bank of Ljubljana today issued a statement in which it said that it is seriously considering the situation following the exposure of the affair concerning the so-called laundering of illicit money. The statement says among other things that this was, we quote, an isolated incident which will not have any influence of the bank's business affairs.

The statement also expresses the belief that its officials were not guilty and that they should not bear any consequences. At the same time, the bank is favor of the full truth being revealed. The statement also mentions that the hitherto president, Vinko Mir, against whom charges were filed with the Philadelphia Federal Court, has voluntarily resigned from the bank's management board. According to TANJUG, if the accusations are proved, the bank could be closed down and Vinko Mir could face a prison sentence of up to 5 years.

New Quarrel With Greeks Over Doiran Lake

AU0612105988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 88 p 3

[Slobodan Casule report: "Quarrels Are the Only Sure Things That Flow"]

[Text] Skopje, 1 Dec, TANJUG—The contradictory announcements that water is flowing out of Doiran Lake and then is not and then is again are beginning to cause arguments between the Macedonian government and the Gevgelija Communal Assembly. Doiran Lake will bear the brunt of this quarrel because when politicians quarrel, very few are concerned with the reason for the argument: the ecological catastrophe of Doiran Lake.

On the eve of the long holiday weekend, delegates at the Gevgelija Communal Assembly warned that water from Doiran is again flowing toward Greece because of damage to the floodgates of the sluice. The Macedonian government which has been publicly called to account collectively and individually many times immediately reacted by sending a working group to Greece which established last Saturday that water is not flowing out. The Information Secretariat made an official announcement about this, whose aim was to deny the alarm from Gevgelija, as well as the alarm of the press, television, and radio.

The statement then followed from Kostadin Popkocev, president of the Gevgelija Communal Assembly, that water is nevertheless flowing out, which denies the previous report from the government.

The Gevgelija mayor claims, as a witness, that the government is not right and that water continues to flow out of Doiran. It can be seen from his statement that the Executive Council's working group was either not sufficiently expert to comprehend the new scandal over the lake, or it was at the least deceived by the Greek authorities. Popkocev claims that our neighbors first of all, left the working group of the SR of Macedonia to wait at the border even though its papers were in order. After a wait of 1 hour, it was allowed into Greece, but as a group of tourists without permission to go to the drainage channel of the lake. The working group of the government "tourists" from the SR of Macedonia nevertheless remained for a short time at the unfortunate "Doji aj" [name as published] from where one-fourth of the lake has flowed out this summer and in which the water level is at the ecological minimum.

Gevgelija people claim that water continues to flow out of the sluice below the floodgates because the Greeks have destroyed the concrete sill. In other words, water is even escaping from the closed floodgates. Popkocev claims that the concrete barrier has not yet been mended. The Executive Council's working group could not confirm this because they did not see it with their own eyes and they were not allowed to stay there longer or to go further south where they would have been able to see for themselves that water continues to flow out despite the calm surface.

Regardless of how this quarrel is resolved, and it seems that both sides are in the right although the Gevgelija side is in the right to a greater extent because these people live with the consequences of an ecological catastrophe and crime against this pearl of nature, the fact remains that the Doiran drama goes on.

If the concrete sill is not mended, if the use of the water is not reduced to a minimum, the lake will continue to suffer the consequences because so much water has been stolen that many years, both rain and human concern will be needed for it to return to the earlier low level.

The public in Macedonia is disgusted, especially now that the new disagreement has come to light. They simply do not understand how it has not been realized that the fate of the lake is more important than who is in the right. We did not inherit the lake to but condemn it to being used and worried over by future generations to which the water will be even more valuable.

Perhaps Doiran Lake will be saved from bureaucratic quarreling at the symposium for the salvation and protection of the lake for which an initiative has recently been launched and invitations sent to all Yugoslav institutes for conservation.

Iran's Velayati Interested in Presidential Visit

AU2811155288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 88 p 1

[TANJUG report: "There Are No Obstacles to Cooperation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov—Yugoslavia and Iran stress their readiness to strengthen relations in all spheres of cooperation, and they see the interests of both sides in this, it was emphasized today by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs, who has arrived in Yugoslavia for a brief work and official visit.

The talks between Loncar and Velayati have confirmed that there are no obstacles to the comprehensive furthering of Yugoslav-Iranian relations during the coming period. In this framework, the Iranian minister of foreign affairs also pointed out his country's interest in having its president visit Yugoslavia in the near future.

'Ali Akbar Velayati spoke in detail on Iranian views on the peace negotiations between Iraq and Iran. He pointed out that Iran highly appreciates the mediatory efforts of the U.N. secretary general and expressed optimism about the negotiations that should continue in December and January.

Yugoslav-Iranian dialogue at the ministerial level included events in the Middle East, other hotbeds, global trends in the relations between the great powers, as well as other important questions of international relations.

Great attention was also paid to activities and modes of action of the Nonaligned Movement in the light of very dynamic changes in the world.

After the talks, Foreign Affairs Secretary Loncar hosted a luncheon for Minister Velayati.

Loncar Confers With Italian, Austrian Officials

LD2611213788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1636 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Venice, Nov 26 (TANJUG)—During separate meetings with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar today, Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti described overall relations between the two countries as good and stressedthe interest in expanding cooperation, primarily in the economic field.

During the meetings with Loncar, who is currently attending a meeting of the Alpe-Adria working community in Venice, Italian officials expressed readiness to support Yugoslavia's efforts aimed at surmounting its economic crisis. They stressed Italy's interest in joint ventures with Yugoslav firms.

Cossiga and Andreotti welcomed the establishment of a political dialogue between Yugoslavia and the European Community.

The Yugoslav foreign minister pointed to the need for more understanding on the part of the industrialized countries for the settlement of the developing countries' problems of development and debts.

It was agreed that Andreotti would visit Yugoslavia early next year. President Cossiga also accepted an invitation from the Yugoslav Presidency to visit Yugoslavia next spring.

During talks in Venice last night, Loncar and Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock assessed that it is necessary that the group of European neutral and nonaligned countries invests efforts aimed at a successful end of the C.S.C.E. Session in Vienna.

Loncar and Mock noted that relations between Austria and Yugoslavia are on the rise and called for the elimination of Yugoslavia's deficit in trade with Austria.

Loncar also raised the question of the Slovene and Croatian national minorities—whose country of origin is Yugoslavia—in Austria.

Loncar Interviewed by LE MONDE

LD2911145888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Our permanent orientation is toward taking an active part in the process of European integration which should ensure our greatest possible participation in the international division of labor. This was stated by Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar in a lengthy interview with a LE MONDE editor published today in six columns in the best-known French newspapers.

According to Budimir Loncar, Yugoslavia is especially interested in greater participation in special production programs on the European scale, such as "Eureka" and others, as well as in the distribution of financial resources, where everything would be regulated in a political manner taking into account that our country is nonaligned, neutral, and European. We would like, Loncar added, to be as close as possible to the European Community while remaining as we are.

Asked what he thinks about relations between our country and the European Community in "the light of 1993", Budimir Loncar said that through the creation of a common market, the West European integration would become "the greatest economic power in the world, whereby it will gain in importance in other spheres, too." Europe can progress in several direction, according to Loncar. First of all, in the sense of a force which by uniting and bringing together nations, will shape and integrate Europe as a whole, while not forgetting historical, political, and ideological differences. Such a European Community would open up great prospects for everyone, including Yugoslavia. Since Yugoslavia is outside the blocs, it is in a more favorable position and has already established ties with the community. That is why we are determined to speed up our efforts to strenghten relations with the European community. If the community, unfortunately, Loncar addes, takes a different direction, that is, of as the most developed part of Europe, that it gives itself the exclusive right to a specific social and political system, possibilities for cooperation would be narrowed, although they would probably still exist.

Budimir Loncar gave a detailed explanation of the current political and economic conditions in Yugoslavia. In his reply to LE MONDE, he stressed that there are both positive and negative aspects of the situation especially in the economic sphere, but that, in his view, two things are very important: "a definate break with dogmatism and consolidation of democratic tendencies in Yugoslav society which are impossible to halt".

The federal foreign secretary also said that current events in Kosovo can not threaten the Yugoslav federation. Responding to the paper's request he outlined the history of the problem in great detail.

From the 12th to the 15th century, i.e. before the Turkish arrival, Kosovo was the center of the Serbian nation's culture and social conscience. "The Albanians, who appeared in Kosovo in the last century, are today in a majority due to the high demographic rate. It should, however, be stressed that these people were also burdened with difficulties and problems in the past. In the new Yugoslavia, the principle of equality of all nations and nationalities has been raised to a unique level in the world. Under the 1974 Constitution, Kosovo is a part of Serbia, but with certain autonomous characteristics. The Albanians are, of course, in power, but have forgotten that, constitutionally, they are a part of Serbia. Serbia has now raised the issue of its having equal rights with other republics. At some stage, in one of the 'furrows' of Albanian national conscience, separatist ideas about unification with Albania were allowed to develop. The Serbian and Montenegerin minority felt discriminated against. A large number has not emigrated."

It is therefore necessary, Loncar continued, "first to resolve the problem of Serbia by enabling it to assume the same characteristics as other republics".

Netherlands' Paper Interviews Mikulic

LD2711000388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—"Like any other multinational community, our country is going through a crisis in its internal relations. To find a way out of such a situation through democratic methods and means will ultimately strengthen our community. We will emerge from the present situation stronger and more united," said Branko Mikulic, FEC president, stated in a conversation with the editor of the Netherlands paper ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD.

In an interview which took place on the eve of his visit to the Netherlands at the invitation of Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, Branko Mikulic answered questions on bilateral relations, further cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EC, the social and economic situation in our country, the problem of Kosovo, etc.

The FEC president noted that relations between Yugoslavia and the Netherlands are very good; he assessed their development as stable, and noted lack of controversial issues in this respect. "Our relations have a long tradition and are characterized by full mutual respect and understanding. We have diversified and fairly rich cooperation in various fields. Contacts between our peoples are traditionally friendly, said Mikulic.

Mikulic particularly stressed that Yugoslavia and the Netherlands, as two European countries with active foreign policies, have identical attitudes toward, and stands on, numerous international questions. "We achieve significant results in economic cooperation which occupies a very important place in our overall relations. However, we would like the Netherlands to become our even more important economic partner in the years to come. We believe that realistic possibilities and mutual interest exist in this sphere.

"As you are aware, Yugoslavia is working on the adoption of a new set of economic laws which will secure more favorable conditions for joint investments and offer greater security to foreign investors. We hope that this would reflect on the greater interest amongst netherlands partners in cooperation with Yugoslavia. We will also look into this during my visit to the Netherlands. It is also the continual task of the mixed Yugoslav-Netherlands Commission for economic cooperation, as well as of the recently founded Council for the Promotion of Trade", said the FEC president.

The editor of ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD wanted to know whether the FEC president would raise the issue of relations between Yugoslavia and the EEC in The Hague, as well as whether our government was thinking about full EC membership.

"As a nonaligned, European, and Mediterranean developing country, Yugoslavia is striving to promote and raise to a higher level cooperation with the EC. It is known that processes are underway in the EC for the further consolidation and strengthening of integration. Here I refer above all to the implementation of the common European home and on the basis of this the creation of a common European market by 1992. Yugoslavia expects that the creation of the common European market would provide prospects for the further expansion and promotion of cooperation with our country. With this aim in mind, Yugoslavia is striving for a good-quality, intensive and organized adapting of our economy to the processes underway in the EC, stressed the FEC president.

I would like to underline, said Branko Mikulic, that considerable possibilities exist for the further promotion and advancement of cooperation between our counry and the EC, even without Yugoslavia officially joining the EC. Here one must particularly take into considderation significant possibilities regarding the maximum use of conditions contained in the agreement on cooperation of 1980 and in the further development of the instruments of mutual cooperation. At the same time, broad possibilities exist in advancing cooperation at the level of enterprises, in keeping with business interests and market conditions. Integration between partners on this basis and the expansion of cooperation should create conditions or production cooperation, joint investments and performance on third markets. Especially important here is the further development of scientific-technological cooperation. All this should ensure fuller intergration of Yugoslavia into the economic integration processes in Europe.

Asked if the system was strong enough to face current problems and if it is true that the revival of Serbian "hegemonism" could destroy the Yugoslav federation, the FEC president said that "we do not see the changes in the SFRY Constitution as deviating from the fundamental principles of the constitutional system as defined in 1974, but rather as an attempt at improvement, adjusting them to new circumstances. In other words, we have decided that some of the solutions from the 1974 Constitution have become an obstacle to a successful development of Yugoslav society. We never considered the 1974 solutions as being of infinite duration. Tito did not think so either. On the contrary, as a great statesman, he always looked into the future and was the proponent of new ideas. This is borne out by the fact that under his leadership from 1945 to 1974, Yugoslavia had three new constitutions, which were amended on several occasions."

Our community is founded on the principles of equality for all the people of Yugoslavia. Our constitutional order is such as to prevent hegemonism on the part of anyone. It is unfair, Branko Mikulic said, to attribute hegemonism to the Serbian or any of the Yugoslav nations. Since its very beginnings, the Serbian nation has fought for freedom and in that struggle has suffered enormous casualties. It is a feature of the policy pursued by ruling circles in individual states or nationalist elements among individual people.... Our people are aware that the socialist self-managing social system and the federal system are a guarantee of their further progress on the basis of national equality and that is why our federation is under no threat of being destroyed. Like any other multinational community, our country is going through a crisis in its internal affairs. To find a way out of such a situation through democratic methods and means will ultimately strengthen our community. We will emerge from the present situation stronger and more united.

The existing economic difficulties foment polemical debates between the republics and provinces in their joint efforts to find the way out of the economic crisis, the FEC president said in reply to a question about Yugoslavia's economic problems, high inflation and also exports seen as the main solution to the problem.

However, it would be a great mistake if we decide that the way to overcome these problems lies in strengthening the central state. On the contrary, our efforts are channelled in different direction. In other words, the present economic and social reform is an attempt to promote full autonomy for enterprises and to restrict the functions of the state, including the federal one, in the economic life accordingly.

We have been living with inflation for a very long time. Unfortunately, it continues to accelerate. It is true, Branko Mikulic stressed, that in recent years, the working class has in real terms been getting smaller personal incomes which means that the quality of life has also worsened. However, we have to realize that certain sacrifices are needed if we are to pull out of the crisis and curb inflation. The weight of this burden is increasing, and it is therefore necessary to take all available measures to cut inflation as soon as possible. Some of the necessary measures have already been taken while others are an integral part of a new economic reform which is to start being implemented at the beginning of next year.

We attach foremost significance to making the economic growth more dynamic and to increasing exports. We are achieving good results in exports this year. In the past few years, we had a surplus in the country's balance of payments. Foreign exchange reserves have increased considerably and the foreign exchange has been market liberalized. With economic reform, we are embarking on the necessary restructuring of the economy and this will, among other things, strengthen its export performance. We consider this to be our permanent orientation. In implementing this orientation, we will make use of the comparative advantages we have at our disposal, and manufacture new products which will be competitive in exports and profitable. Our products are, in fact, competitive on Western markets by their prices, quality, and technological level. Were there to be less protectionism, our products would be available in even greater quantities in the West. At present, 40 percent of our exports go to Western markets, and we hope that this percentage will soon be even higher. Of course, this will not depend on us alone, the Yugoslav premier told the Netherlands journalist.

Personalities such as Tito emerge only in certain historical circumstances, Branko Mikulic said, replying to the question whether the rotation system was successful or whether "another Tito" was looked for. Tito was truly a leader of all Yugoslavs. While he was alive, we resolved all problems with his active participation. Although more than 8 years have elapsed since Tito's death, we have still not become accustomed to resolving the social problems in the efficient way of when he was present. However, we are learning to fill that great vacuum with collective work and decisionmaking. We are not looking for "another" Tito now, nor can one be found for a very, very long time.

The Netherlands journalist was particularly interested in the attitude, as he said, of a province which wants to free itself of the republic on whose territory it is, as well as the attitude of the rich and less wealthy republics and provinces. Replying to this question, Branko Mikulic said:

"It is not this province or the people in this province which want to separate themselves from the republic of which they are a component. In years past, we had undoubtedly made certain mistakes in our struggle with Albanian nationalists and separatists. I think we had underestimated the indoctrination carried out in Kosovo itself too for years by internal nationalists and separatists as well as what had been "imported" to Kosovo from another quarter and which had, objectively speaking, been in the spirit of this indoctrination. A section of the young people had been affected. This infection is very dangerous and a lot of time will be needed in order that we might overcome this disease. We have adopted relevant programs, we are taking measures and, let there be no doubt, we shall overcome it. Of course, we can no longer be as indulgent as up to now with Albanian nationalists and separatists and with their pressures on non-Albanian, first and foremost, on Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo. We shall also take legal measures against them. It is our firm resolve to settle the circumstances entirely, everywhere, both in Kosovo and in the country, in a democratic way, Mikulic stressed.

Regarding the second question, the development policy of the underdeveloped in Yugoslavia, in implementing this policy, Yugoslavia has achieved very major results, the FEC president pointed out. Even the most underdeveloped parts of the country have changed beyond recognition! It is precisely this policy, in my view—I am firmly convinced of it—which can receive in Yugoslavia only positive asessments. The fact that, for instance, in the concrete case of Kosovo, all of us face some specific problems which neutralize the effects of this policy is another question. This is a demographic explosion. No matter how many resources we invest in the Kosovo development, the natural increase is a factor which, compared with the per capita results, neutralizes it. This is the reason why we have now put this issue seriously on the agenda. Of couse, what we have in mind are methods compatible with a civilized society. What I have in mind is enlightenment, education, in the first place of mothers, but also others in order that the gravity of the problems be understood. The question which realistically arises is: How, where and under what conditions would people live in 50 years were such an increase to continue?! Kosovo simply could not accommodate so many inhabitants, they simply could not all have room in Kosovo. We would simply not be able to resolve the employment problem in Kosovo because it would be the most densely populated area in Europe! Thus, we face tasks in Kosovo which are both tasks of the present as well as tasks of long-term character, tasks of development. We have examined all this and we have programs which we are implementing, Mikulic pointed out.

In the talks, the Netherlands journalist also wanted to hear the view of the FEC president of the criticism of a statement made by a Yugoslav official in the United States, Branko Mikulic gave a brief reply to this question: "Yugoslav problems are resolved in Yugoslavia and not in the world, not in other countries."

[Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian in its 28, 29, 30 Nov edition publishes the following correction on page 19:

Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—While abbreviating the text of the interview with Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, granted to the Dutch newspaper ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD and carried by TANJUG the day before yesterday, a technical slip occurred because of which the sense and the essence of a question, and thus, also the answer, may take on a different meaning. Therefore, we repeat this part of the interview in its entirety:

Question: Do you believe that the present political problems arise from the shortcomings of the constitutional system as drafted by great Marshal Tito, or are they a consequence of a new way of thinking? In other words, is the system strong enough to confront the current problems?

Is it, in your opinion, correct to say that the revival of Serbian hegemonism may destroy the federation as such, as some people in the West fear?

Answer: We do not consider the changes in the SFRY Constitution to be a deviation from the basic principles of the constitutional system of 1974, but as improvements and adjustments to the new conditions. We have decided that some provisions of the 1974 Constitution have become an obstacle to the successful development of Yugoslav society. We have never even considered that the 1974 constitutional provisions would be valid forever. Tito did not think they would be either. On the contrary, as a great statesman, he always looked to the future and was the bearer of new ideas. This is also confirmed by the fact that under his leadership, Yugoslavia adopted three constitutions between 1945 and 1974, and changed the Constitution on several occasions through amendments.

Our community is based on principles of equality of all the peoples of Yugoslavia. We have such a constitutional system that prevents hegemony by any people. It is improper to ascribe hegemonism to the Serbian or to any other Yugoslav people. The Serbian people have been struggling for freedom from their very beginning and have made tremendous sacrifices in this struggle. They are a freedom-loving people. Hegemonism is not the characteristic of any people. It is an expression of the policy of the ruling circles in some states and of the nationalistic elements in some peoples....

Our peoples are aware that the socialist self-managing social system and the federal system provide the conditions for their further progress on the basis of national equality, and therefore, there is no danger of our federation being destroyed. Like any other multinational community, our country is passing through certain crises in its internal relations. Finding the way out of such a situation through democratic methods and means has ultimately always made our community stronger. We will emerge stronger and more united from the present situation, too.]

Shoe Workers Protest Wages, Prices at Assembly

AU0612111688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] More than 1,000 workers from the Belgrade shoe factory have arrived outside the SFRY Assembly building. They stopped work because of financial problems and low incomes. They have been offered talks in the trade union hall but they have refused these and are now in front of the SFRY Assembly.

Workers Enter Assembly

LD0612131688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—An hour after they arrived in front of the SFRY Assembly building, more than 2,000 [as received] workers of the Belgrade shoe industry entered the building.

Dissatisfied with wages and the leadership of their work organization, the workers are waiting in the assembly's Grand Hall for someone from the leadership to address them. They are singing the Yugoslav national anthem and shouting "Down with arm chair politicians" and "We want freedom".

Factory Workers End Strike

AU0612150088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Dear listeners, we are returning to the gathering of the 2,000 workers of the Belgrade Shoe industry who held talks with the federal and republican officials in the trade union hall about their problem, low personal incomes. Milovoje Radenkovic has just returned from the trade union hall.

In brief, the gathering ended few minutes ago. The workers have gone away. The Workers Council of this firm will hold a session this evening. This morning Unkovic, vice president of the Belgrade Assembly, addressed the workers. Lazic [no other name or title given] also spoke. The workers went away with the conclusion that there is still much more they can resolve in their firm and agree in respect of further action.

Dismissal of DNEVNIK Editorial Board Urged

LD0612132688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0013 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The basic organization of the LC of the editorial staff of the DNEVNIK newspapers of Novi Sad has proposed to the workers council that the editorial board be disbanded and that ideopolitical accountability be established for failures in the editorial policy.

This is one of conclusions adopted at the session this evening which focused on a comprehensive critical analyses of the editorial policy of the DNEVNIK newspaper. The document submitted by the working group contains very severe criticism and says, among other things, that in numerous cases the editorial policy of DNEVNIK deviated from the basic postulate of journalism—objective informing. It was assessed that the main falures in the editorial policy were insufficient presentation of the situation in Kosovo and of the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the advocation of a pro-autonomy policy in public debate on draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, as well as failures in writings about meetings of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

After the very lively, 5-hour discussion, characterized by a sharp critical review of the editorial policy up to the present, concrete conclusions were adopted demanding political and all other measures for consolidating the situation in this newspaper house and for establishing responsibility for the failures.

Above all, it was asked that the workers council disband the editorial board and that an acting chief and responsible editor be selected until a new chief and responsible editor are officially elected in a regular manner at a session of the Vojvodina SAWP. Three candidates for these positions were proposed to the workers council, namely: Dusan Simsic, Petar Petrovic, and Svetozar Gavric. The vote will be taken by secret ballot at a meeting of the collective. It was concluded that a procedure of ideopolitical differentiation be initiated, as well as a procedure for establishing ideopolitical responsibility of members of the editorial board. A comrades' evening was formed for that purpose.

It was assessed that there is just cause for the resignation of Nikola Cvetkovic, the chief and responsible editor up to the present, who submitted his resignation a few days ago. The party organization concluded that a procedure for establishing ideopolitical responsibility of Nikola Cvetkovic, and his deputy Tomislav Marcinko be initiated. The later had previously submitted his resignation.

According to the basic organization of the LC, influence by Cedomir Kece, official of the basic organization of associated labor of the DNEVNIK newspapers, and Jovan Smederevac, director general of the newspaper publishing house DNEVNIK, on the editorial policy, cadre policy, and self-managing relations in the editorial and basic organizations of associated labor, must be critically discussed. Since Smederevac is a member of the editorial board of the DNEVNIK newspapers, his responsibility for the editorial policy will be considered. However, both his and Cedomir Kece's contributions to the development of the basic organization of associated labor and the DNEVNIK newspapers house will be taken into account. [passage omitted]

Dragan Pajic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, took part in the discussion. He stressed that there would be no compromise with forces responsible for the failed editorial policy of the DNEVNIK newspapers, which have caused great political damage in developing brotherhood, unity, and togetherness in the SR of Serbia. He warned that it is inadmissable that meetings with about 200,000 people, working people and citizens, be categorized as nationalistic. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Party Plenum Exacerbates Problems

LD0512142788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 5 Dec 88

[By Milenko Babic]

[Text] Pristina, December 5 (TANJUG)—The situation in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, which has for eight years been troubling Yugoslavia, seems to have in fact grown even more acute after the special Kosovo party plenum.

The special plenum, which ended work at 4:00 hours local time [0500 GMT] today after 16 hours of debate, failed to bring any closer the polarized stands. The differences between ethnic Albanians, on the one side, and Serbs and Montenegrins, on the other, are now acutely manifested within the Kosovo party leadership, itself.

The special party plenum was called because of the recent demonstrations staged by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. As many as 100,000 ethnic Albanians at a time had gathered in Kosovo's capital Pristina between November 17 and 21. The provincial party committee was to provide a political evaluation of the November 17-21 developments.

It is true that the special party plenum adopted a statement on the five-day developments. However, not only have all existing disputes been left open but they may have even been deepened.

The question which presents itself is whether the five-day demonstrations held by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo reflected "a democratic awakening of the people" or were, in actual fact, a continuation of the 1981 separatist demonstrations, which had opened the Kosovo drama.

No explicit answer to the above question is given in the statement adopted by the special party plenum in Pristina this morning. The provincial party committee decided that the final evaluation of the November developments in Kosovo be given later in cooperation with the party leaderships of the Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia. However, the debate at the special plenum in Pristina clearly showed that the provincial party leadership is divided on a national basis.

Dusan Celic, for example, insisted that no statement on the November developments be adopted but, instead, consultations immediately opened with the party leaderships of Serbia and Yugoslavia. The other Serbian and Montenegrin members of the provincial committee were of the same opinion.

However, Ali Sukrija was the only ethnic Albanian to uphold the proposal advanced by the Serbs and Montenegrins. Sukrija set out that the national division manifested at the special plenum was the heaviest blow dealt to the party in Kosovo.

Observers share the opinion that the Kosovo provincial leadership is now characterized by a clear national polarization, too.

The polarization is obviously negatively reflected on the revision of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo and also the other Yugoslav autonomous province, Vojvodina, are a part. The November demonstrations in Kosovo were aimed against the proposed constitutional changes in Serbia.

The constitutional changes are necessary so that Serbia would restore its state jurisdiction on all of its territory, including the two provinces.

Vojvodina, for its part, accepted the proposed changes in the Constitution of Serbia after stormy events this past summer and the replacement of the entire provincial party leadership. Kosovo has not done so, however. For that reason and, in general, because of an overly slow solution of the existing problems in Kosovo, the Serbian party leadership has for quite some time been calling for the dismissal of a number of Pristina officials.

Sentences of Jansa, Others Postponed

AU0612153488 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] The Human Rights Protection Committee released another public announcement today. The announcement says that Igor Bavcar, in the name of the committee, and as a representative of the convicted Janez Jansa, Franci Zavrl, and David Tasic, on 22 and 25 November supplemented his application for the postponement of the execution of the sentences.

The basic court in Ljubljana postponed the execution of the sentence on Janez Jansa until 3 March 1989. The basic court in Kranj postponed the execution of the sentence on Franci Zavrl until 7 March next year. The basic court in Nova Gorica has not yet replied to the application for a postponement of the execution of the sentence on David Tasic.

FEC's Svetozar Rikanovic on 1989 Budget

LD2611211888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 24 November (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council (FEC) has had great difficulties and many dilemmas in preparing the draft budget. It would appear that the SFRY assembly's work won't be easy either, because they themselves will be confronting mutually contradictory needs, stressed Svetozar Rikanovic, federal secretary of finance, when submitting his report on the draft federal budget for next year. Having been put in a difficult position over what can be done and what must be done, the FEC proceeded from some basic assumptions, which Rikanovic proceeded to ennumerate.

The overall public expenditure in the country (budgets of all sociopolitical communities, expenditure of all social activity self-management interest communities, and all expenditures for retirement pensions) must grow more slowly than the growth of national income and of the annual inflation rate. If this was not the case, then public expenditure would be fanning instead of extinguishing inflation.

It is assumed that inflation in 1989, despite the 78.5 per cent growth of prices transfer, will after all go up more slowly than this year. This assessment is based not only on the commitment to keep the demand sector under control, but also on the comitment to essentially improve the supply sector, partly from domestic production, coupled with unhindered import of raw materials and reproduction material, and partly through direct import of consumer goods and others.

A mechanism of automatic but restrictive adjustments of individual aspects of public expenditure has been laid down. Not all budget entries can grow at a flat rate. We are convinced that some entries, such as expenditure for the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and similar entries, must grow faster than others.

The Federal Institute for Social Planning has made the evaluation that in 1989, social product will amount to 339,503 billion dinars, national income 299,707 billion dinars, the level of prices transferred from 1988 78.5 percent, 1989 price growth 60 percent, growth of social product in real terms 1.5 percent, and the average growth of retail prices 133 percent. In line with these indicators and orientations with the draft law on the temporary restriction on the use of a portion of social resources of the sociopolitical communities and of social activity self-management interest communities to be used in 1989, we envisaged a 132 percent growth of overall public expenditure which is below the growth of social product and of national income. This will secure a further realistic decrease in overall public expenditure which ranks among the anti-inflationary instruments of our society.

It emerges from all this, to quote Rikanovic, that within the framework of a 136.2 percent growth of national income; a 135.3 percent rise in the expenditure for retirement pension and disability welfare, a 156 percent growth of revenue at the federal level, and a 115.3 percent rise of the income in other sociopolitical communities and self-management interest communities in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces will be allowed. It is easily discernible that all the ratios have been put down in such a way that the revenue for the commitments met at the federal level will grow somewhat faster than the growth of the revenue, while the commitments met at the federal level will grow somewhat faster than the growth of the revenue and that the commitments met at the socialist republic and province level will grow somewhat more slowly. [as received] The reason for this is not to be found in a bounteous attitude of the federation toward itself, but in the fact that some of the most important functions of our society, of interst to the whole country, such as securing the resouces for the YPA for military retirement pensions, and the resources for veterans' welfare and others, are fulfilled through the federal budget.

The nonfulfillment of the commitments toward the YPA this year, stressed Rikanovic, has provisionally reduced the share of the total of the federal budget to a mere 5.3 percent of the social product, almost to a level which the social plan has envisaged only for the YPA. Obviously, this cannot be a lasting solution because it represents an essential threat to the stability of financing all the organs of the federation, especially of the YPA. What, in this respect, must be constantly borne in mind is that a portion of federal budget resources financing the YPA in fact does not determine the level of expenditure, but production conditions in the country's special industry. This is why planning these resources cannot be subject to any great fluctuations.

Having explained other major budget items, Rikanovic said that the FEC suggests that the overall federal budget expenditure for 1989 should amount to 20,920.3 billion dinars, or 169 percent more than in 1988. The share of the federal budget in the (?estimated) social product will be 6.2 percent. As is known, the Yugoslav social plan for this medium-term period envisions that this share be up to 7.5 percent.

Rikanovic mentioned, among other things, that this framework of resources will not be sufficient to cover the pension commitments in 1989 and for this reason, restriction of [pension] rights will have to be discussed.

The FEC has proposed a program of further rationalization in the state administration system, and at the same time, it will obligate all organs and institutions at the federal level, that is to say all users of the federal budget resources, to compile their own saving programs.

Savings are possible on every entry of every budget of every institution. This is why the envisioned amount of resources for the organs of the federation, and not only the program of measures, will force these organs to reduce the number of employees, to reorganize the services, to operate rationally and to organise their work better. Many rights laid down by laws and other regulations must be re-examined.

The fixing of the size of the necessary resources for the work of the federal organs was approached in a completely restrictive way so that any further reduction of these resources would jeopardize the fulfilment of some basic functions of the federation, especially as far as the financing of diplomatic-consular missions, payment of membership dues to individual international organisations, and the purchase of equipment are concerned because all the resources under this heading are under the direct impact of the foreign currency exchange rate changes, said Rikanovic, adding that the overall extent of the budget expenditure is covered 81.2 percent from the federation's own sources of income, and 18.2 percent from the contributions made by the republics and provinces.

As far as taxation of the trade is concerned, significant changes are expected in the structure and in the size of the expenditure, especially to the advantage of those products which are not food products or have been taxed with the basic tax on trade to a lesser extent.

The revenue from custom duties and other import duties and taxes, which are part of the federal budget, have been planned on the assumption that the value of the commodity imports in 1989 will be 9.4 percent up on the value of the imported goods fixed by the projection of the balance of payments for 1988, that the average growth of clearing rates in 1989 will amount to 133 percent which is what the average annual growth of retail prices is expected to be, and that the agreed rates for import dues, applied in 1988, should remain unchanged for 1989.

The FEC has asked the federal secretariat of finance, recalled Rikanovic, to prepare an alternative to the proposed federal draft budget, which has been done. In accordance with the previous agreement, this alternative has been worked out only in the impact of the transferred growth of prices in 1988 without any planning of their current growth. This alternative was committed in advance to a radical quarterly rebalancing of the federal budget because of the current growth of prices, which surely will be there. However, this variant failed to receive support during the consultations with the republican and provincial finance secretariats or during the meeting of the presidents of the executive councils of the republics and provinces. It would indeed have introduced complete uncertainty regarding the actual size of the federal budget expenditure, and as a variant which could not have been applied only to the federal budget, but would have required to be applied to the overal public expenditure of the country.

While not refraining from our firm and justified resolve and commitment that all the revenue and all the expenditure should be presented together and as soon as possible in a single federal budget, Rikanovic added, we could not avoid presenting separately to the SFRY assembly all the present known elements of the extra budgetary records of the federation with all the dilemmas and outstanding questions facing the FEC. In a certain way, the SFRY assembly has now for the first time a complete insight into the consolidated balance sheet of all the federal revenue and expenditure. This is a step forward, but at the same time we are aware that the job is not finished and that we must carry on with it.

FEC Institutes Draft Law on Banking

LD2611213288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—Last night's FEC session, presided over by Branko Mikulic, instituted a draft law on the Yugoslav National Bank and the unified monetary transactions of the people's banks of the republics and provinces. There was also consideration of implementing the interest rates policy and some questions of importance with regard to the development of this policy aimed at removing the weaknesses which have been expressed.

As the Federal Secretariat for Information reports, the proposed draft law envisages that the Yugoslav National Bank should become a significantly more efficient and responsible institution of the federation for implementing established credit, monetary, and foreign exchange policy. To this end, changes are envisaged in the method of decisionmaking in the Council of Governors and in the method of checking the transactions of the people's banks of the republics and provinces. Provisions have also been specified which relate to the revenue, expenditure, and funds of the Yugoslav National Bank.

One of the innovations in the proposed draft law is also empowering the governor of the Yugoslav National Bank to be able to veto a decision or measure of the Council of Governors if he assesses that it is contrary to the law and other regulations—in other words, if it is not in keeping with monetary, credit, and foreign exchange policy. For the same reasons, the SFRY Assembly can annul any decision of the Yugoslav National Bank.

In order to achieve greater efficiency in decisionmaking by the Council of Governors of the Yugoslav National Bank, decisions would in future be adopted following an ordinary majority, instead of a specified majority, except when it is a matter of several precisely enumerated exceptions in the law.

As regards the checking of transactions by the people's banks of the republics and provinces, powers have been specified for the more consistent adherence to economic criteria in the transactions of these banks, especially with regards to solvency and liquidity, something which ought to facilitate a timely adoption of measures in cases where there is deviation from these criteria.

Pribic Replaces Matic as Veterans Representative

AU3011155488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Milan Pribic New President of Yugoslav Veterans Federation"]

[Text] At today's session of the Federal Council of the Federation of the Yugoslav National Liberation War Veterans Association, Milan Pribic, member of the republican council of the Serbian veterans federation and member of the Council of the SR of Serbia, was elected member of this council. At a session of the presidium immediately afterwards, he was elected president of the Yugoslav veterans organization.

Milan Pribic was born in 1921 in the Banatsko Karadjordjevo in the Zitiste commune. He was a participant in the national liberation war after 1941, he is the holder of the 1941 Memorial Medal, and was the organizer of the uprising in northern Banat. He was a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party after 1941. During the war and afterwards, he carried out several important functions. For many years he was director of Centrokop in Belgrade and went into retirement from this post.

The resignations of Petar Matic and Zivko Mali were also accepted at today's session, as well as the recall of Dusan Alimpic. Franc Hocevar was elected member of the Presidium of the Federal Council of the Federation of the Yugoslav National Liberation War Veterans Associations.

Korosec Holds Talks With Security Organs

AU2911191188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—Our society is on the threshold of a new stage in the development of socialism and profound transformations. We are not going ahead with the three reforms only because we want to resolve the crisis, but also because of the historic need to establish more humane and efficient relations in Yugoslavia, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, told the Communists of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Institute for Security.

Regarding the latest events in Kosovo, Korosec said that there is still not enough information to make an overall assessment, and that the LCY Central Committee Presidium did not receive the information on these events from the provincial party and state organs in time. Korosec also said that the accountability of the provincial cadres who prepared the public debate on constitutional amendments is undisputable, because they did not provide the members of Albanian nationality with the correct information concerning the essence of the constitutional changes.

Army Communists Support 17th Session Decisions

AU0112074488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 88 p 4

[V. Ilic report: "The Army Knows Its Obligations"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov— Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] unreservedly endorse the speeches made members of the LCY Central Committee from the Army at the 17th session of the Central Committee of Yugoslav Communists, because they faithfully expressed united support for the efforts of the LCY in implementing the three reforms, the destruction of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and the necessary cadre renewal caused by the crisis in the country. This, among other things, was stressed at the regular 16th session of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the YPA which was held today in the YPA hall in Belgrade.

The committee unanimously adopted the tasks of Communists in the Army in the implementation of the decisions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee which say among other things that all basic organizations and organs of the LC must establish concrete measures for accountability. One should also explain in a reasoned way the essence of the counterrevolutionary processes and the consequences of the activities of Albanian nationalism and separatism. It is essential to concretely work in an ideopolitical way with soldiers, officers, and civilians of Albanian nationality who feel the influence of nationalist and separatist indoctrination and to explain the consequences of unacceptable ideas and stands. It is also necessary to enrich and develop cooperation in training units and territorial defense commands, training the reserve officers, securing the state border with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and strengthening links between the population and the Army in these areas. One should also provide full mobilization and support for all factors of self-defense in the YPA with regard to opposing various forms of destructive behavior among individuals and groups in military collectives, especially when it comes to hostile activity.

The Committee of the LCY Organization in the YPA also stressed that attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito do not represent a more serious problem in the Army. Nevertheless, because of the frequency of attacks with anticommunist and reactionary intentions, communists will energetically and promptly oppose every appearance of these in any army community. The organizations and organs of the LCY Committee are obliged to supplement their plans for political work with specific obligations in order to strengthen the unity of Yugoslav communists in ideology and action and contribute to the political consolidation of the country.

Within the context of training and education in the YPA, it was concluded that the moral strength of YPA members should be built up because this is a prerequisite of the struggle to surmount the present economic, political, and mainly security situation in the country. Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic stressed the obvious progress of education in the YPA—especially in the field of electronics and information, and emphasized that more attention should be paid to the psycho-physical abilities of recruits and soldiers, above all at the time of adapting to life in a military collective.

A new scale for paying party membership fees in the LCY Organization in the YPA was also adopted and it is certain that the amount of membership fees will be reduced in percentage terms next year in line with the personal incomes of the officer cadre and civilians in the YPA.

Republics' 25 Nov LC Sessions Detailed
LD2611214388 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2337 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 25 (TANJUG)—Joint solutions leading the country as a whole along the path of progress and opening it towards Europe and the world, should be drawn from different concepts of the implementation of social reforms in Yugoslavia, concluded the central committees of the Leagues of Communists of three Yugoslav republics—Slovenia, Macedonia and Croatia—at their separate sessions on Friday.

Member of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee Sonja Lokar told the session of this body in Ljubljana that the just closed conference of the League of Communists of Serbia had shown it would not be difficult to find allies for the above goal everywhere in the country. In her opinion, a great military of the two republics' views on ways and means of bringing about their economic reforms has been confirmed. However, she pointed to a specific ideological aspect of the reforms in Slovenia where the so-called democratic alternatives, 'linked together solely by their opposition to the LCY,' have entered the scene.

Without denying that the League of Communists was responsible for the crisis, unexpected fermentation and confrontations between republics, Lokar said that the eleventh hour was striking to the party political monopoly, monolithism, and the party-state cohabitation.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia discussed the problems of innovating the political system and bringing about a reform in the League of Communists, so that it may qualify for ideological synthesis of the Yugoslav model of reformed socialism.

The session was told that demands for political competition were increasingly noticeable in the country due to the planned introduction of market economy, different forms of ownership and economic competition. It was noted however that the multiparty system was not inherent in commodity production, while the competition of goods, knowledge, ability and services did not automatically require political competition.

Addressing the session of communists of Croatia, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Vidoje Zarkovic pointed out that the Yugoslav party must accept dialogue on the public scene and provide through political pluralism for the implementation of the Yugoslav concept of 'pluralism of selfmanagement interests.'

At the session of their Central Committee, communists of Macedonia warned that opposition to economic reforms was coming from fear that the market orientation in economic activity would lead to the restoration of capitalism. This and other ideological prejudices should be fought, they pointed out, because the new concept of development is essential for overcoming the longstanding crisis.

Slovene Republic Elects New Presidency Member
LD2711181188 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene
2300 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Excerpt] The Slovene Republican Electoral Conference today elected Dr Ivan Ribnikar a member of the Slovene Presidency. [passage omitted]

Slovene Veterans on Svabic Statement, Stanovnik
AU2911133588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
24 Nov 88 p 2

[TANJUG report: "'Brotherhood and Unity' in the Service of Unitarism"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Nov—At their conference today devoted to the veterans' current tasks in the wake of the 17th LCY session, presidents of Slovene veterans' organizations resolutely rejected the part of the speech that Mihajlo Svabic made at the Belgrade meeting in which he insulted presidents of the Presidency and the SAWP Republican Conference of Slovenia. One cannot by any means accept the slogan "Brotherhood and unity" when for some people it implies a unitarian and centralist Yugoslav state while at the same time accepting attacks against the Republic of Slovenia and individuals who advocate a democratic concept of socialism, progress, and the democratic development of Yugoslavia.

The veterans asked their delegates to tomorrow's session of the Federal Council of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia to resolutely oppose distorted interpretations of events in Slovenia on the part of some media, some veterans organizations, and individuals. All allusions that Slovene veterans want their own republican army were rejected and it was demanded that individuals be called to account for statements that sow discord between the veterans organizations in Slovenia and these in other republics and provinces. As was pointed out, it is vitally important for the future of Yugoslavia to overcome the differences between some republics and provinces and to do so only by reaching accords, finding out common starting points, and strictly respecting different opinions, as well as the right of each people to make its own decisions, something which was confirmed by the conclusions of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia].

Taking part in the debate, Bojan Polak Stjenka, president of the Slovene Veterans Republican Committee, assessed Janez Stanovnik's statements as well-meaning and sincere, and said that they help to consolidate Yugoslavia's reputation in the world. At the same time, he considers the reaction on the part of a section of the Yugoslav press to be one-sided, insulting, and tendentious. Such a way of writing does not help to calm down the situation in the country and is part of the carefully prepared and carried out campaign which has recently been launched against Slovenia.

During the greater part of the conference, the discussion dwelled on the economic situation and reforms. The introductory speech on this topic was made by Zivko Pregl, executive secretary of the LC Central Committee Presidium of Slovenia. In Pregl's opinion, the constitutional changes have created the conditions for carrying out the coming economic reform and thus for finding a way out of the crisis. Therefore, it is not true that this could have been achieved without changing the SFRY Constitution, Pregl assessed. He illustrated this by citing the example of the fact that no difference is made between accounting and the economic cost of social property in the present constitutional provisions—something that was best shown when the Agrokomerc case was (not) being solved. Moreover, the constitutional changes make it possible for economically successful enterprises to "take over" unsuccessful ones, and they also make it possible to found foreign and mixed enterprises, which is an appropriate solution to the problem of workers made redundant because of technological changes, etc.

In reply to the question of whether there is any difference then between socialism and capitalism, Pregl pointed out the dual function of a worker as the owner of the labor he is selling and the owner of social capital. According to Pregl, the great unity that has been achieved in the country as regards the concept of the new economic system will inevitably have a positive effect on political thinking too. People's mentality will also undergo significant changes, because the omnipotent state will no longer solve all problems. Pregl considers the economic reform to be the central question, it will have a decisive influence on the remaining two reforms (reform of the political system and the reform of the LC) although the opposite effect cannot be ruled out either.

'Association of Reason' Called 'New Party'

AU3011155388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Association of Reason—'New Party'"]

[Text] The meeting of Slovene cultural workers held last week supported the founding of the Slovene Democratic Association of Reason [Slovenacki Demokratski Savez Razuma].

The program theses of the Association of Reason define the platform of activities of this new organization in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, and state among other things:

—The Slovene Democratic Association of Reason (referred to as Association throughout the text) will strive to understand, evaluate, and regulate social and political events in Slovenia in accordance with civilized, cultural, scientific, and other modern social achievements in Europe.

The members of the association are individuals, groups, and societies which have similar views and interests concerning the development of Slovene society and its position in the broader community....

—The association is a collective and equal member of the SAWP. What is important for the direction of the association are all the progressive traditions, which is to say the elements of the Slovene people's movement since Protestantism or since 1848....

The association is truly contributing to the protection of the state sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia by primarily building and reinforcing the concepts of intact modern existence of the Slovene people. The association sees the federal authorities as a "service" for the autonomous constitutent units with original powers....

—The association strives for a democratic system which proved to be successful in the modern developed world.... In this sense, it opposes those Slovene political traditions that were founded on irrational and obsolete concepts of national reconciliation and class sectarianism. It also opposes the street populism and the privileged position of the self-proclaimed political elites....

—The association supports the concern for protecting natural, cultural, and historic heritage of the Slovenes inside and outside the borders of the SR of Slovenia....

The association regards as megalomania the remnants of attempts to impose "Slovene concepts" on other Yugoslav peoples and the myth of the Slovene superior value, or, for instance, the imposition of the "Yugoslav path to socialism" on other states. The association regards the following as servile: an easy acceptance of imposed ideological, unprofitable, and megalomaniac or "strategic economic projects," as well as the adoption of non-Slovene language practices in Slovenia and in communications with federal representative bodies.

—In its public appearances, the association will stimulate and respect scientific research and public opinion-....The association is opposed to the monopolistic position of the present Slovene television, and therefore it strives for its reform and the launching of a new, independent television network. The association will publish its own cultural-political magazine which will be either a weekly or biweekly publication.

—The association supports aspirations for political pluralism and political competition.... The association will propose and support appropriate candidates for parliament, and public and state offices. It will organize appropriate pre-election procedures. The association is against the single party and no-party systems which lead to totalitarianism....

Otherwise, it has been planned that this association, which has already been named a new party, be officially founded in December. The program should be formulated in 10 theses and the most characteristic sentences from these theses were presented here.

Report on Slovene LC Stands on Reform

LD3012184188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—The 17th session of the LCY Central Committee again centered on the guidelines of the LCY conference with particular emphasis on the implementation of fundamental social reforms in a self-managing, democratic, and legal way. However, the session itself did not remove one of the reasons which are provoking an unfavorable mood among people and exacerbated sociopolitical and economic relations. Differing conceptions of the development of socialism are becoming increasingly obvious, and antisocialist concepts of social development are also being expressed more and more.

This, among other things, is written in the stands and declarations of the 23d session of the Slovene LC Central Committee held on Friday [25 November] before the holiday [Republic Day], at which consideration was given to the tasks of the Slovene LC in the current political situation.

The constitutional amendments have still not yet fully started up the social renewal which secures the affirmation of interest-based and political pluralism. We must take new and true steps toward democracy within socialism, which will facilitate the free setting up of a proreform front in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia. The May Measures in economic policy represent the beginning of economic reform, but significant additions are needed, the Slovene LC believes.

Agreement in Yugoslavia and Slovenia, which is difficult to achieve, should be achieved for each issue separately so that we may affirm a market-orientated, innovative economy and society and an economy and society which is open to the world.

Because of the lack of understanding of events in Slovenia, an anti-Slovene mood in Yugoslavia continues to grow. We shall respond to this by well-reasoned arguments and our readiness to reach agreement and solidarity. We shall persist in our standpoint that everyone should find his own way forward, a way which in his own environment will produce results and thus lead to jointly agreed goals. In the stands adopted at this session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, it is also written that "the Slovene LC has on several occasions, in the organs of the LCY, supported the new understanding of Serbian statehood, which should not be affirmed to the detriment of the two autonomous provinces in Serbia and the Yugoslav federation. We advocate the establishment of the state's rule of law, democratic political roads, and a self-managing socialist united front of the people of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo."

The complex social relations are a reason for our persisting more in these strategic tasks of the conference of the Slovene LC, it is written in the stands, which also cite forthcoming tasks. These are the renewal of the LC as a condition for the affirmation of overall social reform, the new program and statute of the LCY, the intensification of ideological and theoretical work, and the modernization of the ideopolitical training in the LC. The strategic and important decisions of the LC will be adopted by organs, and not executive bodies, and this will always be accompanied by the presence of advocates of alternatives. The Slovene LC Central Committee is also providing an initiative for the democratic cadre renewal of the organs of the Slovene LC. [Passage omitted]

Communists will advocate an autonomous, democratic, and pluralist SAWP as a movement, according to the stands of the Slovene LC Central Committee.

Work on the new constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the SFRY should be begun immediately. We must express the newly achieved perceptions, in affirmation of the democratic processes. We advocate that the new constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia should be adopted by a referendum before the adoption of the new constitution of the SFRY, the Slovene LC Central Committee believes.

The debate on defense and security should be prepared in a fundamental way so that, in the further processses of the socialization of these functions, replies are obtained to questions which are being raised in respect of the clearer orientation of the position of, and social control over, the institutions of the security and defense system.

Finally, the stands of the Slovene LC Central Committee conclude that with these guidelines "we wish to create an LC which will be more open to others, new, creative, bold, and proud. In our organization we wish to expand the space for all those who have sufficient self-reliability, energy, and knowledge for us together to change the LC and create in society an effective democratic movement for the implementation of the plan of socialism to suit the ordinary person," the stands and declarations of the Slovene LC Central Committee conclude.

Slovene LC Presidium on Economic Reform

AU0112121888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia has assessed that the material prepared for the forthcoming 19th LCY Central Committee session is good and that it constitutes an essential step forward. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

The favorable assessment that Zivko Pregelj presented in his opening speech was taken as the starting point for the discussion at the session of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia this morning. Several suggestions were made in the discussion that the positions and tasks of the Yugoslav Communists in implementing the economic reform should be elaborated and defined in detail so as to determine the realistic scope and possibility of sociopolitical actions.

Zivko Pregelj expressed the opinion that the first practical legal steps in the field of finances and economic relations with foreign countries had been departing from the desired course. His second critical observation referred to the program combating inflation and reducing budgetary spending at the federal level.

Joze Smole expressed his fear that the practice of excessive normativism will be repeated. He recommended that a new style of work be developed by the federal, republican, and provincial executive councils in the spirit of market and enterprise logic. In his opinion, this is the right moment to beat inflation. He suggested that Yugoslavia should decide on one of the successful foreign models for an anti-inflation policy.

Miha Ravnik proposed that the law on enterprises and work relations should be improved to the extent that it should explicitly define the self-managing rights of workers. Sonja Lokar agreed with his view that there is a real danger that self-management may be reduced. She said that the state must intervene in economic currents, but should not be the director general of the economy.

The Presidium of the republican Central Committee at its session discussed the transformation of the LC to a considerable extent. The LC renovation has been assessed to be a priority task. It was stressed that it is more important that the LC broaden scope for the initiatives of all working people than it organize mobilizing actions.

It is interesting that differing views were heard about the positions and tasks of the Communists as cited in the materials for the 19th LCY Central Committee session. Some members of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia were of the opinion that social activities are again being treated as consumers and not as a component of development. Others advocated the thesis that the LCY Central Committee stand on these activities should be considered a good platform for the entire country, because it is envisaged that the republics should determine their flexible positions on this basis.

The Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia will present these and other views to the LCY Central Committee Presidium with the observation that the Yugoslav Communists' action directives represent a good response to the demands of the moment and that they signify a step forward along the road of implementing the economic reform in Yugoslavia.

Zagreb Opinion Poll on Situation, Problems

AU0312205688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 88 p 5

[Rajko Vujatovic report: "Some New Truths"]

[Text] What do you think about the political events in our country and the weaknesses of the social development to date, relations between ethnic groups, relations between the church and society, the respect party organizations enjoy among citizens, and the quality of our foreign policy? These are only some questions asked by Dr Stefica Bahtijarevic and Dr Mladen Zvonarevic in a public opinion poll they conducted (among 2,000 citizens) in Zagreb and several suburban communes last year. The latest issue of NASE TEME carries a quite extensive report on this.

In order to learn what citizens think about our domestic problems, in their first question the researchers ask whether people are "generally satisfied with the political situation in the country." It is interesting that only 4 percent of the people are satisfied and 51 percent "fairly satisfied." What is worrying, however, is that 35 percent answered that they are predominantly dissatisfied, and 8 percent that they are completely dissatisfied. It is especially worrying that young people are the least satisfied (46.7 percent). As for national affiliation, 40.1 percent of Croats and 63.4 Serbs are satisfied with the political situation in the country. LC members are somewhat more satisfied (62.5 percent) than non-members (55.3 percent).

Socialism in Quotation Marks

When asked what they thought is the feeling prevailing among the people they are in contact with, as many as 27 percent of respondents replied that it is a feeling of "concern and fear;" 17 percent that "indifference" prevails; while only 16 percent think that the people they are in contact with are ready for action aimed at overcoming difficulties.

As many as 58 percent of people polled call themselves "ordinary observers" of political events, and if we add to them people who say that "they have no opportunity for active participation" or that "are prevented from being active," one can conclude that as many as 73 percent of people polled do not play an active role in political life.

Some people think that socialism is the most suitable road toward the economic and social development of the country, while others are of the opinion that this development could be realized in some other way. Researchers asked: What do you think of this? Over one-third (35 percent) of people polled think that "socialism is as good as any other road;" 12 percent assesses that "there are better roads than socialism;" while 21 percent do not have a definite opinion about this. In fact, if one looks into this more carefully, all of them, 68 percent, directly or indirectly "are not for socialism," at least are not for it completely and unequivocally. Only 31 percent are of the opinion that "socialism is the best road into the social development of the country." This opinion is held by only one-fifth of young people. Most of LC members think that socialism is the best road, but as many as 35.4 percent of communists polled think that "socialism is as good as other roads," and 4.8 percent claim that "there are better roads than socialism."

When asked what weaknesses in our country bother them most, as many as 67 percent of the citizens answer that our greatest weakness is "more words than deeds," and 81 percent are worried the most by bribery and corruption. Then comes unemployment, the irresponsibility of people who hold office, the opportunity for individuals to enrich themselves unjustifiedly, as well as unjustified differences in pay. According to citizens, the main causes of this situation are sloppiness, irresponsibility, and lack of discipline (49 percent). However, 21 percent see the causes of all our troubles in the irresponsible behavior of the leaderships; while a negligible number of people polled see these causes in our lack of development, low cultural level, inefficient operation of the state, insufficiently developed self-management, and the like.

Kosovo Is Mostly an Unknown Value

As many as 61 percent of people polled think that strikes are justified, because workers have no other way of realizing their rights, while 18 percent say that they are harmful because our self-managing society has other methods of fulfilling justified demands.

When asked what they think about relations between Serbs and Croats in their community as compared with the past, 9 percent of the people polled answered that these relations have deteriorated; the same number says that they have improved; 52 percent say that they have remained the same; while 30 percent of people polled have no opinion on this matter. It is interesting that as many as 71.4 percent of Serbs assess the present relations as most favorable, which is very significant considering the fact that they are a minority in Croatia. LC members assess relations between Serbs and Croats more favorably than non-members. All in all, researchers think nationalism in these parts is not as deeply rooted as it may seem sometimes.

The researchers wanted to know what citizens think about events in Kosovo and how one should solve these problems. The answers to these questions are 1 year old. It is indicative that 46 percent of people polled say that they are insufficiently informed about the Kosovo situation. It is interesting that 27 percent of the people polled think that Albanian and Serbian nationalisms in Kosovo nourish each other, and only 25 percent that Albanian nationalists and irredentists should be fought more resolutely. However, the citizens have no dilemmas as to who should solve this problem: 60 percent of citizens in this region said last year that the problem should be solved by the whole of Yugoslavia.

When asked who is to blame for our $20 billion foreign debt, as many as 33 percent of citizens answered that federal officials are to blame; 23 percent think that we are all to blame; and 25 percent state that they are not familiar with this issue. It is interesting that only 8 percent of the respondents think that the republican and provincial officials are responsible for our debt. If our citizens to some extent know who is to be blamed for our debt, one could not say that they know how the problem should be solved. As many as 62 percent of those polled say that they have not thought about it. It is interesting that 20 percent of citizens believe that the debt should be repaid by launching a national loan.

Public opinion research has shown that 48 percent of citizens think the prestige of the party organizations in their community as average; 23 percent consider it low; as many as 13 percent think that they have no prestige; and only 9 percent of the respondents think the prestige of the LC organization in their community "very high" or "above average."

[The following three passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Position of Croatia

Asked about the economic and political position of Croatia within Yugoslavia, 7 percent said that Croatia is in a better position than other republics; 16 percent think that Croatia is disadvantaged in relation to some other republics; and as many as 57 percent think that it is in the same position as other republics. It is interesting that the views of the Croats and the Serbs differ to some extent on this question. While 6 percent of Croats believe that the position of Croatia in Yugoslavia is better, the same view is shared by 15.6 percent of Serbs. Or again, while only 1.6 percent of Serbs consider Croatia to be disadvantaged in Yugoslavia, this view is shared by 18.8 percent of Croats.

Influence of the Church

Citizens were asked how they felt about the conduct and the stances of the religious organizations that strive in our country for greater influence on upbringing and education, and on public information media, for closer links with their own people, and greater influence on the policy of the country.

Regarding upbringing and education, 18 percent of citizens completely agree that the church should have more influence; 38 percent agree with this partially; and 42 percent do not agree at all. Fourteen percent of the respondents are in favor of a greater influence of the church on information media; 35 percent are partially in favor; and 48 percent of those polled exclude any such possibility. Nine percent of citizens fully accept greater influence of the church on the policy of the country; 24 percent agree with it partially; and 64 percent do not accept such an influence at all.

Foreign Policy

Answering a question on how they regard our foreign policy, 34 percent of those polled think that it is good on the whole and it should not be changed; 13 percent believe that it is basically good, but one should lean more toward the United States and other Western countries; 11 percent also assess our foreign policy positively, but believe that it should lean more toward nonaligned countries; and only 2 percent believe that our foreign policy is basically good, but should lean more on the USSR and other socialist countries.

2-Day Militia, Civil Defense Activities End

LD2711180788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Strumica, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—Within the framework of this year's 10th action "All in Defense and Protection," final activities were completed yesterday and today in 13 municipalities of eastern Macedonia and the Vardar region. Over 200,000 people participated in the action entitled "Our Strength Lies in Ourselves". Though conducted in difficult winter conditions, this traditional 2-day action ended very successfully.

In 100 work organizations and local communities; workers, citizens, young people, and members of the territorial defense and civil protection once again reaffirmed their readiness, organization and a high degree of awareness and training for the defense of the country and the protection of social ownership.